



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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2 December 1991

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OATUU Concerned About Charges Against Libya

AB2211221091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 22 Nov 91

[Text] The Organization of African Trade Union Unity, OATUU, has noted with concern, the American and British threats to either impose economic sanctions or direct military action against Libya if she refuses to extradite two of her nationals alleged to be responsible for the Lockerbie plane crash in 1988.

A statement issued in Accra today said OATUU appreciates the cooperation of the Libyan Government in appointing a magistrate to investigate the accusations against the two Libyans. The union therefore appeals to the United States and Britain not to impose economic sanctions or military action against Libya, in the interest of peace and justice.

Southern African Coordination Conference Meets

Regional Conference Proposal Rejected

MB2211162691 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 22 Nov 91 p 1

[Report by Tim Cohen: "SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] Vetoes FW's Plan"]

[Text] The Southern African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC] has rejected President F.W. de Klerk's proposal for a regional conference, saying it is already working on a plan for a regional economic pact.

The 10-member SADCC was planning to replace its manifesto, aimed at project coordination, with a formal pact aimed at regional economic integration, SADCC economist Michael Sefali said yesterday.

Sefali, who heads the team researching the technical aspects of the pact, said De Klerk's proposal was premature as SA [South Africa] would join the organisation only once a new democratic government was in place.

He said he was surprised by De Klerk's announcement this week and suspected the SA government simply wanted to reproduce and strengthen existing imbalance.

In the interim, the SADCC was anticipating SA's incorporation and had established a four-member planning committee which included the ANC [African National Congress] and the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]. The members are Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana.

The SADCC had invited SA to join once a new government was in place. Participation would have to be on the basis of three principles: equity, balanced regional development and mutual benefit, Sefali said.

According to the Africa Institute Bulletin, members have agreed that a post-apartheid SA would be expected to

fulfil the role of the existing SADCC sponsors through the provision of aid and investment capital to SADCC member states.

Makoni on Inclusion of South Africa

MB2311175491 Johannesburg Radio RSA in English 1500 GMT 23 Nov 91

[Text] The executive secretary of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, Mr. Simba Makoni, says the addition of South Africa to the organization would bring advantages.

Mr. Maconi said there were already inequalities and unfairness in the conference, so the introduction of South Africa would not bring new problems. He said recent developments in southern Africa had provided a stronger foundation for the work of the conference this decade.

These developments included political moves toward more open and accountable government, a trend away from a large public sector in many economies, and benefits from greater peace in southern Africa.

Depletion of Woodlands Discussed

MB2911164491 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The nine [as heard] member states of the southern African regional organization, SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference], have been meeting this week in Blantyre, Malawi, to discuss a crisis hitting the whole region—the depletion of woodlands for firewood and charcoal. Not only are large areas running out of the commodity, but the degradation of forest land is causing severe ecological problems such as erosion, and wildlife depletion. And Malawi is itself particularly hard hit. Pressure on land is already high and is being added to by the hundreds of thousands of refugees from the civil war in neighboring Mozambique. From Blantyre, Mike Kamuiando telexed this report:

[Announcer] At the crack of dawn every morning on the old Chileka road outside Blantyre the charcoal vendors on their bicycles make their way toward the residential areas of the city. These charcoal vendors are breaking the law, but they carry on their work regardless.

Meanwhile, in the city of Lilongwe a similar scenario is unfolding. Charcoal vendors set off from as far away as the town of Dedza, 60 km away, with piles of wood strapped to their bicycles.

This is the backdrop to the SADCC workshop in Blantyre, Malawi and other countries in the region are looking for ways to balance the demand of urban population for firewood with the need to prevent environmental degradation arising from the destruction of indigenous forests.

Mr. Louis Mahango of the Malawian Government's energy research unit, says that Blantyre's population is causing a serious depletion of Malawi's forests. Although some headway has been made since the introduction of a new ceramic stove, which reduces charcoal consumption by 50 percent, many people are proving reluctant to use it. Mr. Mahango warned that just planting more trees is not a solution on its own.

ECOWAS Official on Economic Union Creation

*AB2311173591 London BBC World Service in English
0630 GMT 22 Nov 91*

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] may have got its act together over Liberia patiently overseeing a peace agreement, but it is not having much success doing what it was set up to do—forming an economic union of West African states. Dr. Abass Bundu, executive secretary of ECOWAS, has frankly admitted that the committee's regional integration program in the past two years has been a disappointing failure. He was addressing a council of ministers meeting in Lome and blamed the failure on the unfavorable environment in which the economies of West Africa have had to operate in the past two years, especially against the background of agitation for greater democracy. From Lome, here is Ebow Godwin:

[Begin Godwin recording] The agitation for democracy, though welcome, has in its spin-off effect created protracted economic crises for the subregion, causing serious disruption of economic development in member states. Submitting his third interim report and draft budget for 1992 before the 13th session of the ECOWAS Council of Ministers meeting in Lome under the title, *The Unfinished Business in ECOWAS*, Dr. Abass Bundu disclosed that difficulties have largely been encountered with the implementation of various regional integration programs. For example, Dr. Bundu regretted that two years after the launching of the ECOWAS trade liberation scheme, no industrial export has been officially recorded under the ECOWAS trade regime. Besides, he said, most member states are yet to even print and issue necessary customs documents to give effect to the scheme.

Dr. Abass Bundu pointed out that the additional protocols signed to enable the community launch in 1990 the third and final phase of the protocol on free movement of persons, rights of residence and establishment has not yet entered into force because most member states have failed to ratify the protocol. The harmonized ECOWAS travel certificate and resident cards adopted to facilitate implementation of the protocol have also suffered the same fate. The executive secretary revealed that the ECOWAS fund was suffering a weird fate since neither member state contributions nor loan repayments have

been promptly settled. Even though defaulting member states managed to escape ECOWAS punitive sanctions that were to be applied after the May 1991 deadline last approved in Banjul, Dr. Bundu warned that the secretariat would face grave financial problems in 1992 since only Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, and Nigeria have fully paid up their contributions for the year 1991.

Dr. Abass Bundu stressed that ECOWAS' agenda of a subregional monetary union was still on course in spite of initial difficulties and hoped that the target would be achieved by the year 2000. [end recording]

Namibia's Nujoma Speaks to Planning Ministers

*MB2511114891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1025 GMT 25 Nov 91*

[Text] Windhoek Nov 25 SAPA—Namibian President Sam Nujoma on Monday [25 November] appealed to the international community for R[and]83 billion annually to assist African development and for "massive debt forgiveness". He was speaking at the opening of the joint meeting of African planning ministers, United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] representatives and regional agency representatives in Windhoek on Monday.

Mr Nujoma said each African country's specific objectives in investment, human resources development, protection of land and maritime resources, arresting flight capital and repatriation of capital should definitely be encouraged. "At the same time, international action in areas of economic aid, including a massive R83 billion (30 billion US dollar) annual inflow, massive debt forgiveness, and serious attention to commodity prices, will be an indispensable complement to our own efforts in Africa," Mr Nujoma said.

Mr Nujoma was addressing about 300 delegates from about 45 African countries in Windhoek to discuss the next five-year programme on development aid to Africa. The meeting is being sponsored by the UNDP and the Economic Commission for Africa. The UNDP has pledged to spend over half of its funding, or about R4 billion, during this period.

Mr Nujoma said it was clear that people must be encouraged to participate fully in planning and implementing programmes to improve their own lives. Namibia supported this approach wholeheartedly. "We are convinced that within the public sector, government programmes and services must be carefully planned both at national and sectoral level," he said. "At the same time we believe that ministries responsible for planning should encourage and support development of private sector activities."

Mr Nujoma said the full economic potential of the private sector could not be effectively realised unless public sector services were properly planned and implemented to provide support to the private sector to carry

out its activities. It was also vitally important an efficient planning system be designed which would also take a realistic account of constraints. "Experiences elsewhere have shown that macro-economic difficulties have sometimes occurred, precisely because expenditure in the public sector has been allowed to expand much faster than available resources would permit," Mr Nujoma said.

Mr Nujoma said it was encouraging to note that planning ministers had decided to give regional cooperation issues the political and technical consideration they deserve. Namibia had been accorded the maritime fisheries sector by the Southern African Development Coordination Conference. Mr Nujoma said the effective surveillance of this resource should not only deserve the attention of UN institutions and other agencies. "In this regard, the European Community's common fisheries policy should surely be matched by a common fisheries strategy for the African economic community," Mr Nujoma added.

He said despite the limited success of African countries and their international partners in the United Nations programme of action for African economic recovery and development during the past five years, it was necessary to persevere. "Undoubtedly there is much to be done on both sides in terms of economic reforms on the part of our governments in Africa, and of complementary action by our international partners," Mr Nujoma added.

He suggested, due to the pressure on UN agencies from so many regions of the world, the global coalition for Africa, instituted at a Maastricht conference, could provide a useful framework for dialogue and consultation between governments and donors.

News Agency Heads Discuss Support for PANA

*AB3011132091 Dakar PANA in English 1140 GMT
30 Nov 91*

[Text] Yaounde, 29 Nov (CAMNEWS/PANA)—The directors of national news agencies of 10 Central African countries wound up their five-day seminar in Yaounde on Friday [29 November] with an appeal to their respective governments to provide the agencies with the legal framework conducive to their operations and expansion. Participants at the meeting organised by the Central African News Agencies Development Project (CANAD), also urged UNESCO to assist the institutions in the elaboration of staff training programmes and to organise workshops for officials of national news agencies in the sub-region.

They also highlighted the need to develop technical infrastructures of national news agencies in the Central African sub-region which, they said, is least developed in terms of communications. The directors further asked UNESCO to set up modalities for the improvement of the quality and commercialisation of their products within the context of the political pluralism prevailing in Africa.

During the discussion, the director-general of the PAN AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY (PANA), Wuguste Mpassi-Muba, apprised the participants on the financial problems facing the organisation and urged them to assist in creating awareness among their respective national authorities for the survival of PANA. The participants emphasised the need for strong support for PANA, insisting however, on the necessity to embark on structural reforms in the agency. They said such reforms should include the possibility of infusing funds from private African economic operators into the activities of PANA adding that the initiative will require the necessary studies by Unesco aimed at revamping the continental agency.

Djibouti

Gouled Says 'Foreign Enemy' To Be Driven Out

EA2911202591 Djibouti Radio Djibouti in Somali
1700 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Alhaji Hassan Gouled Aptidon, president of the republic of Djibouti, delivered a very important address to the nation today on the current situation in the country. Hassan Gouled Aptidon, president of the Republic of Djibouti, said no one should (?imagine) that any part of our country was in the hands of foreign insurgents. He made it clear that the government would use its power to drive this foreign enemy out of the country.

President Gouled, president of Republic of Djibouti, said that a public referendum on political change would soon be held. Abokor Musa, special reporter of the president of the Republic of Djibouti, tells us about the speech:

[Musa] In his speech, President Hassan Gouled Aptidon addressed several political issues and the current situation in the Republic of Djibouti. [passage omitted]

He said it was evident that the members of the forces which had invaded the republic of Djibouti were not Djibouti citizens. [passage omitted] President Gouled Aptidon spoke about the current situation in the country, which, he said, should be managed appropriately without involving all the people of the Republic of Djibouti in the country's defense. He said, while doing so, we shall respect and (?recognise) friendly foreigners, including French nationals, living in the Republic of Djibouti.

President Hassan Gouled Aptidon said: We shall soon conduct a public referendum to establish whether or not the people of the Republic of Djibouti want political change. This change will affect the elections of members of parliament and the formation of organizations reflecting the people's political objectives and aspirations. He said if it becomes necessary to make such changes a relevant clause of the Constitution will have to be amended. This will be done during the forthcoming parliamentary elections in the Republic of Djibouti.

Gouled Condemns 'Afar Mercenaries'; Blames France

AB3011150591 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 27 Nov 91

[Text] Djibouti's President Hassan Gouled Aptidon today addressed the nation and said that in the face of the incidents that have been going on in the country for two weeks now, triggered by Afar mercenaries, there will be political changes in the country. He nonetheless ignored the opposition parties.

Let us have more details from Djibouti with Christopher Arrah:

[Begin Arrah recording] For the first time in 20 days of guerrilla fighting in the northern part of the country, the head of state, Hassan Gouled Aptidon, broke his silence. He announced that his government was determined to face the difficulties, in other words, there will be no negotiations with the guerrilla fighters who claim to belong to the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy, a movement who decreed a one-week truce as of today in order to initiate dialogue with the government.

President Gouled, on the contrary, supports the thesis of Afar militiamen from Ethiopia and Eritrea, recruited as mercenaries by power-thirsty individuals. The Djibouti head of state therefore blamed France for not respecting the accords providing for the intervention of French troops in Djibouti in case of external aggression against the small republic of the Horn of Africa.

However, President Gouled promised in the near future, to call on Djibouti nationals to agree to political changes but did not said the kind of political changes they would be. This need for a popular verdict, will be fulfilled through a referendum followed by general elections. For President Gouled, the elections will be possible only when the situation in Djibouti returns to normal. [end recording]

Opposition Spokesman on French Troop Deployment

LD2911174691 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Interview with Dr. Abbate Ebo Adou, spokesman for the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy, by Ghislaine Dupont; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Abbate] If this is the conclusion [the sending of French troops to Djibouti] drawn by the mediation mission that Mr. Dijoud led to Djibouti, then for the moment we feel it is, at the least, biased, because on the one hand we are witnessing the recruitment of foreigners at France's expense, supported, trained, and armed within the regular army using the French taxpayer's money, and on the other hand there are the people of the north who are still facing the deadlock and the absence of humanitarian aid because international organizations have not been allowed to bring assistance there. As for sending the French army to the north, none of the conditions put forward by the Front for the Restoration of Unity and Democracy [words indistinct] which the Djibouti people expect from France.

[Dupont] France is saying that the only mission these soldiers will have is to make sure no foreign forces enter the country.

[Abbate] France knows very well that in the southern part of the country there are foreigners to whom [identity] cards are being distributed [words indistinct] and who in several hours become Djiboutians, and it is with

France's money that all these people are integrated into the Republic of Djibouti's military. So why not react to these things that are official rather than verify these pointless accusations?

Ethiopia

Interior Ministry Bans Democratic Union Rallies

EA2911180091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network
in Amharic 1700 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Statement from the Ministry of Interior—date and place not given]

[Text] We are in the era of unlimited respect for democratic rights after the fall of the antidemocratic system. To ensure the proper use of these democratic rights, which were affirmed through the sacrifices of the people, a directive was issued some time ago on the appropriate use of these rights, based on the Charter. According to the directive, any individual or organization can express its views in writing, in a meeting or a demonstration, and they can support or oppose any individual or organization, including the government in power.

The directive on the exercise of rights clearly indicated that those who exercise their rights should not violate the rights and interests of others, and that in order to use this right appropriately, it would be necessary to carry out all activities in a peaceful and orderly manner. The directive enables democratic rights to be utilized in a peaceful and legal manner.

Any organization which claims to struggle in peaceful and democratic ways can carry out its activities without violating the rights and interests of others in a legal and orderly manner.

An organization which carries out its activities rebelliously and illegally, may pursue its struggle in its chosen path of rebellion but it cannot enjoy democratic rights. The path of rebellion and the use of democratic rights do not go hand in hand.

The organization known as the National Democratic Union [NDU] has been enjoying democratic rights, and has been carrying out political activities officially as well as holding demonstrations, but it has also been calling for war and confronting security forces in the guise of demonstrations. On Sunday, 24 November, the NDU, after consultation with the concerned authorities, stated that it would hold a rally proposing a peaceful resolution to the prevailing problems in the country.

The demonstration was said to constitute a call for peace and was permitted with that understanding. This demonstration, however, turned out to be a declaration of war. The security forces who were deployed with the responsibility of assuring that the demonstration was held in an orderly manner were stoned and suffered injuries. Information Ministry reporters who were covering the rally were also beaten up. The organization,

which promised to hold a peaceful demonstration, using its democratic rights, carried out illegal and violent activities, which cannot be reconciled with peaceful demonstrations.

The government has the responsibility of protecting democratic rights and maintaining peace in the country. On the other hand, it also has the responsibility of controlling activities which disrupt peace under the guise of democratic rights, those who break the law, and, in general, those who impede the peaceful and democratic path upon which we have just embarked.

The government has detained those who led the NDU demonstration and allowed the stoning and beating of security forces and reporters. These were the people who took upon themselves the responsibility of staging a peaceful demonstration, and who promised that they would be responsible if the demonstration became unruly.

The government has also removed the NDU's right to demonstrate since they have abused that right. The organization can carry out other political and organizational activities, but it cannot hold rallies. The government has taken this measure because it has the responsibility of curbing illegal activities.

The government hereby gives notice that, from now on, while making unreserved efforts for the appropriate use of democratic rights, it will, however, take the necessary measures against any illegal activities.

[Signed] The Ministry of the Interior.

Foreign Ministry 'Concerned' Over Djibouti Events

EA3011113891 Addis Ababa ENA in English
0734 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Addis Ababa, 29th November (ENA)—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the transitional government today called for immediate measures to avert the threat of "extensive bloodshed" in neighbouring Djibouti republic. The ministry said in a statement that Ethiopia is greatly concerned with the "disturbing developments" in Djibouti and feels that the continuation of the conflict threatens widespread violence on both sides of the border. Following is the full text of the statement.

"The transitional government of Ethiopia is following with keen attention and profound concern the disturbing developments in the Republic of Djibouti. The character of the rebel activity and its location are such that the situation is likely to affect the residents on the Ethiopian side of the border and may involve Ethiopian citizens in the area, thereby exacerbating traditional misunderstandings between the Afars and Issas. Furthermore, the rebellion raises the fear that other countries in the region may be affected. Continuation of the conflict obviously

threatens to trigger widespread killings, which would disturb the peace and security of the area.

"The issue is further complicated by the fact that the rebels may include among them ex-militiamen of the defunct Dergue regime of Ethiopia who in the past had been involved in creating security problems along the Addis Ababa-Aseb road and who, having disobeyed the orders of the transitional government of Ethiopia to disarm, proceeded to cross the border to Djibouti and join the rebellion in big numbers.

"Ethiopia continues to follow developments in Djibouti closely. The transitional government of Ethiopia therefore calls on all concerned to act promptly to avert the threat of extensive bloodshed in Djibouti and prevent a spill-over of the effects of the conflict to neighbouring countries.

"In this regard, it is absolutely essential that efforts that are made to seek a solution to the problem be based on the full realisation of the complexity of the situation on the ground, and its wider and sub-regional ramifications."

Afars Hold 'First Democratic Conference'

EA0112073091 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] The conference for the Afar nationality ended on 29 November after adopting resolutions of importance to the region. Our reporter Teferi Tadese has the details:

[Begin recording] The Afar people's conference attended by over 3,000 delegates representing Afar nationals resident in Welo, [word indistinct], Tigray, Eritrea, and Djibouti ended yesterday [as heard] after four days of deliberations. This was the first democratic conference held by the Afars without pressure from any quarter since the Afar Liberation Front started its armed struggle in 1975. The participants called on the government to pay particular attention to solving the Afar people's social problems, the Afar having been forgotten by the past regimes.

Regarding the Afar people's unity, the participants recalled the divide-and-rule policy of the past and the attempts to divide and dismember the Afars by referring to them as the Afar of Eritrea, Welo, or Harer. They declared the intention of struggling against the forces seeking to divide the Afars.

Regarding Afar territories, the participants declared the Afar intended to live in the areas inhabited by their forefathers while respecting and cooperating with all the nationalities and peoples of Ethiopia at large.

During his opening speech, Mr. Hanfareh Ali Mireh, the chairman of the Afar Liberation Front, expressed appreciation for the people's friendship and cohesiveness with the front, noting that this cohesiveness was the best means of solving problems. [end recording]

Kenya

Moi Cited on Introduction of Multipartyism 'Soon'

EA3011103091 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1300 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Excerpts] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi said today that a country that cannot feed itself has no dignity and urged Kenyans to redouble their farming activities to achieve food self-sufficiency. President Moi noted that although at present many areas of the country produce substantial quantities of food, there was need not only to maintain that level of production, but also to increase and to [word indistinct] for the rising population.

President Moi was opening this year's western ASK [Agricultural Society of Kenya] show at the Kakamega showgrounds. President Moi said that development in a country was a result of peace and unity among the people themselves. He stressed that Kenyans would never accept policies formulated by outsiders and which were against the national aspirations. President Moi said that at present many countries in the African Continent were being forced to adopt political systems that could create chaos in a country. He said African countries should be allowed to choose the political and economic policies that will serve their people best, and should never be dictated to.

President Moi said that because of that peace, wananchi [citizens] enjoyed a better standard of living and that they have the opportunity to contribute to the country's development. He added that development was a result of the people's aspirations themselves.

The president noted that multipartyism is a luxury in Africa at this stage as it would disrupt people from their unified approach to development. However, President Moi called on Kenyans to remain united under KANU [Kenya African National Union] to maintain the development tempo even after allowing multipartyism in the country soon. [passage omitted]

[Nairobi KTN Television in English at 1800 GMT on 29 November also reports: "President Daniel arap Moi said today that multiparty politics was a luxury in Africa which could disrupt the unified approach to development at this stage. President Moi called on all Kenyans to remain united under KANU to maintain the development tempo even after allowing multipartyism in the country soon." This report also carries a recording of Moi saying in Swahili: "All this development has been achieved because we have had unity and good cooperation. There can be no planning if people are fighting each other. And that is why I stress all the time when people come up with technological ideas and others, multipartyism and all that rubbish" and continuing in English, "to me, multipartyism in Africa is a luxury, because Africans"—here interrupted by applause—"cannot

afford all these things, quarrels and so on." Moi concludes in Swahili: "Those who can deal with that are those who have planned their affairs properly. What some of them want you to do is to fight, and I do not want my citizens to fight. All this noise is being made, has been made, for about two years. I was about to say, just because I do not want the citizens to be harmed—one day I will say, let us follow this road, let us go together on that road. And then we will let them make their own noise, so that we can see what they are, those who are outside." Applause follows.]

[Also, Paris AFP in English at 1002 GMT on 30 November reports: "Moi, speaking at a trade fair in the western town of Kakamega on Friday, urged his supporters to remain faithful to the ruling Kenya Africa National Union after the introduction of political pluralism, the Presidential Press Unit said. It quoted Moi as saying that he called on Kenyans 'to maintain the pace of development even after allowing multi-partyism in the country soon.'"]

Radio, AFP Describe KANU Meeting on Pluralism

EA0212134691 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi this morning at parliament buildings chaired the KANU [Kenya African National Union] governing council meeting.

President Moi arrived at Parliament buildings shortly after 10 a.m. and was received by the vice president and minister for finance, Professor George Saitoti; KANU chairman, Mr. Peter Oloo Aringo; the [KANU] secretary general Mr. Joseph Kamotho; party treasurer, Japhet Lijodi; the organising secretary, Mr. Kalonzo Musyoka, and the speaker of the National Assembly, Professor Jonathan Ng'eno; and the attorney general Mr. Amos Wako. [passage omitted]

[Paris AFP in English at 1243 GMT on 2 December reports in a Nairobi-dated item: "Kenyan party leaders decided to recommend an end to one-party rule at a watershed meeting here Monday that followed the suspension of Western aid and growing calls for pluralism, senior party sources said. The decision, taken at a special meeting of the governing council of the ruling Kenya African National Union (KANU), followed heated debate, said the sources, who declined to be named. President Daniel arap Moi called the meeting to recommend reforms to a KANU delegates' conference to be held Tuesday. Last week Moi promised that Kenya, under single-party rule since 1982, would have multi-party politics 'soon,' after international donors deferred a decision on 1992 aid for six months pending political and economic reforms, and moves to curb corruption and human rights abuses. Opposition to Moi's 13-year rule has also been growing in Kenya, diplomats said. A KANU source said it was 'virtually certain' that the party delegates would decide to move to multi-party

democracy on Tuesday. 'They are pushing our backs to the wall so we have to do it,' the source said. "]

Vice President Says Country To Change 'In Time'

EA2911154091 Nairobi KTN Television in English 1600 GMT 26 Nov 91

[Text] In Paris, at the consultative group meeting, the vice president and minister for finance, Prof. George Saitoti, said that Kenyans are concerned that the country does not lose her good reputation. The vice president said that the meeting was taking place when Kenya was facing considerable international criticism on a number of issues. He said this would require on the part of the government some extremely difficult but necessary action.

Dismissing claims that Kenya does not want change, the minister said Kenyans did not want change merely for the sake of ideological reasons. He reiterated that although Kenyans want change, the country would change in time. Saitoti further said the Kenyan system is not opposed to divergent political views or free expression of ideas and opinions.

On corruption, the vice president said Kenya was very much concerned about the issue and very strong measures would be taken in this area. He observed that there have been major changes in the government aimed at establishing conditions to ensure greater accountability and transparency in decision-making and in giving the right signals within the economy. The anticorruption bill introduced in parliament strengthens the mechanism and the penalties which will assist quickly in enhancing the public awareness on this issue, he said.

Vice President on Paris Trip, Other Issues

EA3011202591 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1300 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Excerpt] The Vice President and Minister for Finance, Professor George Saitoti, arrived home today after a week's successful trip to the consultative group meeting in Paris on 25th and 26th November and the African Development Bank in Cote d'Ivoire on 28th and 29th November.

Professor Saitoti, who led a Kenyan delegation to the Paris meeting, told the press in Nairobi that the group meeting focused on policy issues and that it was not intended to lay emphasis on figures or pledges by donors. The vice president noted that the meeting had noted that Kenya maintains a leadership role in sub-Saharan Africa and on economic reforms and performance and agreed to assist the country maintain the leadership. He said that the group noted that owing to both political and economic developments in the country in recent times, Kenya and other developing countries needed to speed up economic reforms in various sectors.

Professor Saitoti noted that donors' meeting raised matters of transparency and accountability, adding that

Kenya was committed to rid corruption from the system, which was clearly demonstrated by introduction of anti-corruption bill in parliament.

During the Abidjan meeting, Professor Saitoti held discussions with the African Development Bank's management on policy reforms on industrial sector and export processing project. The vice president also signed a funding protocol of an equivalent of 73,000,000 U.S. dollars. He met the Cote d'Ivoire's Prime Minister, Alassane Ouattara, and exchanged ideas of bilateral and mutual interest. [passage omitted].

FORD Members Doubt Police Ability in Probe

*EA3011230991 Nairobi KTN Television in English
0500 GMT 29 Nov 91*

[From the press review]

[Text] Five founder members of the Forum for the Restoration of Democracy, FORD, yesterday said it was self-defeating to have the Kenya police take over the investigations into the death of former Foreign Affairs Minister Robert Ouko as some of them had already been implicated in an attempted move to cover up the murder. Addressing a press conference in Nairobi, the five FORD members, [Martin] Shikuku, [Oginga] Odinga, [Masinde] Muliro, [George] Nthenge and [Philip] Gachoka said the alternative was to recall retired senior police officers to handle the remaining investigations into the death of Dr. Ouko. This is the lead story in THE STANDARD.

'Friends of FORD' Call for Multipartyism

*EA0112071591 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 29 Nov 91*

[Text] A group calling itself the friends of FORD [Forum for the Restoration of Democracy] issued a statement today calling on the government to determine a way to institute peaceful changes in this country. The group of 16, including former politicians, lawyers, and a local publisher, called on the government to institute transitional change to a multiparty democracy. The ruling party KANU [Kenya African National Union] has so far said that it was watching the current political situation in the country with interest, and has said that it is convening a national governing council meeting next week.

The friends of FORD also called for the release of those in prison for political reasons. They called for more freedom of expression and said that the proposed review of constituency borders should stop.

Parliament is currently debating a motion that will add to the number of parliamentary constituencies in an attempt to serve Kenyans better.

Muslims Call for National Convention, Pluralism

*EA0112073591 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1800 GMT 30 Nov 91*

[Text] Kenyan Muslims have called for a national convention involving all Kenyans from all walks of life. In a statement signed by the secretary general of the Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims, Ahmad Khalif Muhammad, the Muslims said that 'the era of accountability and transparency could not go hand in hand with political uncertainty but on [as heard] a government commanding total respect and confidence of the people. The statement said the people's fear and silence and praise for peace could not guarantee everlasting peace.

They also called for an investigation into the activities of the current leadership and its beneficiaries to determine if they can be eligible for re-election, as well as the setting up of an independent commission to supervise future elections.

The Muslims called for the prosecution of those in custody and the repatriation of the 76 billion shillings in foreign accounts.

Muslims at the same time urged for a review of the education system to highlight moral values and the dissolution of the current Parliament, followed by a fresh and fair multiparty election to cater for all political views. The statement said that Muslims have joined other Kenyans who have called for political reforms in the country as only this will help in the manifestation of God among men.

Oyugi Dismissed From General Motors Post

*EA0112065091 Nairobi KTN Television in English
1600 GMT 29 Nov 91*

[Text] Former internal security chief Hezekiah Oyugi, reported in police custody after his arrest in connection with suspects who may have interfered in investigations on the death of former Foreign Minister, Dr. Robert Ouko, has been relieved of his duties as the chairman of the giant General Motors Kenya Limited. A communication from the head of the civil service and secretary to the Cabinet, Professor Philip Mbithi, to the management of General Motors said that the earlier appointment had been withdrawn.

The government owns 51 percent of general motors, and the USA owns 49 percent. A source at General Motors also said that Oyugi had never been executive chairman of General Motors but only chairman of the board of directors, because the company has a managing director.

Oyugi was appointed to the post [on 27 October] soon after he was dropped from the powerful post at the office of the president where he held the portfolio as internal security chief.

Somalia

Reportage on Factional Fighting, Developments

'Upsurge of Fighting' in Mogadishu

AB2911202091 Paris AFP in English 1806 GMT
29 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Nairobi, Nov 29 (AFP)—Warring factions shelled each other's positions in another upsurge of fighting in the Somali capital Mogadishu on Friday, but no side seemed able to take control of the battle-torn city, aid workers said here.

The fighting had subsided earlier this week, but intensified after the arrival of new troops, said the aid workers, in radio contact with Mogadishu.

They estimated that up to a thousand people had been killed and 6,000 injured since fighting between two clan-based factions of the ruling United Somali Congress (USC) erupted 12 days ago. [passage omitted]

Beatrice Megevand of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), one of the few aid agencies still operating in Mogadishu along with the French medical charity Medecins Sans Frontieres, said she had seen mass graves and many wounded people.

"The situation is catastrophic," said Megevand, who arrived here from Mogadishu on Friday. "Enormous numbers of civilians have been injured by stray bullets. In one of the worst incidents this week, a bomb exploded in a market on the outskirts of Mogadishu, killing four or five people," she told AFP. [passage omitted]

"Food is getting scarcer, the conditions in the hospitals are appalling and malnutrition has increased," she said. "Doctors are forced to operate in unhygienic conditions, sometimes on the floor or on the ground, as the three main hospitals have been completely overwhelmed."

Megevand said a Red Cross ship carrying nearly 800 tonnes of food had been waiting a week on the high seas for an opportunity to unload, but had been prevented from docking in Mogadishu by the fighting. She said thousands of malnourished children had been cut off from food supplies. Many were unable to reach the SOS Children's Village hospital which used to distribute food, and other clinics have been shut down, Megevand said.

President Cited on 'Intensified' Fighting

AB3011211691 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 30 Nov 91

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] Fighting has intensified in the Somali capital, Mogadishu, where rival factions of the United Somali Congress have been battling for control over the city. The clashes have been concentrated on two northern areas of the city, Qaran and Libow, which are the

stronghold of Somalia's interim president, Mr. Ali Mahdi [Mohamed]. Shelling and artillery fire have been reported and there are said to be many casualties. At one hospital in the south of the city where there is already a severe shortage of medical staff, about 300 people were admitted today.

In an interview with the BBC, Mr. Ali Mahdi blamed his rival, General Aidid, for most of the deaths, saying they resulted from artillery attacks on civilian areas of the city. But he said reports of 1,000 deaths were exaggerated. Only about 300 people had died in the fighting. Mr. Ali Mahdi, speaking with gunfire in the background, said he was still at his stronghold in Qaran and had been joined by reinforcements from outside Mogadishu.

Tanzania

Opposition Parties Plan Election Strategies

AB3011095491 London BBC World Service in English
1830 GMT 27 Nov 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The recently emerged opposition parties in Tanzania, which are walking a bit of a tightrope in a country where opposition parties are illegal, are already planning their strategies for any forthcoming elections.

The two party leaders, Chief Abdallah Fundikyeru of the Union for Multiparty Democracy, and James Mapalala of the Civic Movement, have already had brushes with the law. And now it seems they are thinking of getting together to take on the ruling CCM [Revolutionary Party of Tanzania]. From Dar es Salaam, Adam Musekelo telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] The two opposition leaders have said that in the event of the introduction of a multiparty system and the calling of a snap election early next year then they are going to form a coalition to fight the sole ruling party, the CCM. Chief Abdallah Fundikyeru has told reporters that his group does not stand a chance against the CCM if battles alone. We will only make a show, but I would be quite receptive to the idea of a Tanzanian version of a Sacred Union coalition against the CCM.

The other opposition leader, Mr. James Mapalala, this morning said that he would also join an anti-CCM alliance in the event of snap elections early next year. The enemy of your enemy is your friend, he said.

Both leaders were briefly arrested last Friday [22 November] and charged with starting illegal societies. Both of them were all praises for the Tanzanian police. When asked how he was treated, Mr. Mapalala gloated: Do not worry! Even the police are on our side. I can confidently say that the Armed Forces are on side. They even asked me which hotel I wanted to go to for my dinner.

Both leaders accuse the CCM of conducting a massive recruitment drive whilst telling people to cease all political activity. Mr. Mapalala had nothing but scorn for the CCM's drafting of new members. CCM is issuing new cards, but I can assure you that no one is interested in collecting membership fees. They are busy pocketing money from people who will never vote for them, he said. [end recording]

Uganda

Museveni: Opposition Allowed in 1995 Elections

AB2911094591 Paris AFP in English 1337 GMT
27 Nov 91

[Text] Kampala, Nov 27 (AFP)—Ugandan president Yoweri Museveni has said the ruling National Resistance Movement (NRM) will let the opposition take part in the 1995 general elections, the Ugandan press reported here on Wednesday [27 November].

Speaking on Tuesday to newspaper editors at State House, Entebbe, Museveni said that every Ugandan would be free to stand for any post.

Museveni came to power through a coup in January 1986 after which he suspended political activity by opposition parties.

"As long as I am president every one shall be free to stand for any post from president downward," he said.

His remarks have come at a time when the opposition is increasing pressure on his NRM to allow other parties to take part in politics.

He has on various occasions spoken out against multi-party democracy, saying it was divisive.

Meanwhile, the National Resistance Council (parliament) on Tuesday passed a law that will regulate the conduct of members of the armed forces.

The law has been described by some of the council members as extremely harsh because out of its 57 clauses 24 carry mandatory death sentences.

Government To Retire Thousands of Civil Servants

EA2811154591 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 0700 GMT 28 Nov 91

[Text] The commissioner for pensions in the Ministry of Public Service, Mr Martin Lagara, has visited Gulu to explain to the civil servants the work of the Uganda civil service reform commission. He told them that more than 400,000 [figure as heard] civil servants would soon be retired in the public interest and compensated in order to resettle down [as heard] and earn their living. He said about 2,900 over-aged civil servants, 2,600 irregularly appointed, 4,200 drunkards, 1,500 corrupt, and 2,900 incompetent civil servants will be laid off during the exercise. He said the government is doing this to improve the conditions of the service in the country.

[Paris AFP in French at 1333 GMT on 28 November cites Uganda's NEW VISION as saying that 24,600 government functionaries will be retired]

Multiparty Preparatory Talks Continue

MB2911154691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1452 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 29 SAPA—At least one person from every organisation present at Friday's preparatory all-party conference talks will be present at the Convention for the Democratic South Africa (Codesa) scheduled to take place on December 20 and 21.

This was one of the decisions taken at the preparatory talks held at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn.

The decision that the National Party and the government will field separate delegations to Codesa was welcomed by all the delegates.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen is reported to have said during the closed meeting that the government had never intended anything else.

The government delegation will have a non-voting status at Codesa.

As an apparent concession [to] the Pan Africanist Congress demand that Codesa be held at a neutral venue, it has been decided that Codesa itself can decide whether or not some of its meetings can be held outside the country.

One of the functions of the steering committee, still to be decided on, will be to invite representatives from the far-right and left of the political spectrum, including the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and the Azanian People's Organisation, to Codesa.

Meanwhile Mr Piet Coetzer, a member of the new "Media Committee", said they were 90 percent sure that the preparatory meeting would continue on Saturday.

Joint Chairmen Issue Statement

MB2911181091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1749 GMT 29 Nov 91

[SAPA PR Wire Service: "Statement by the Joint Chairmen of the Preparatory Meeting Held on 29 November 1991"]

[Text] 1. Judges Schabert and Mahomed were appointed co-chairpersons of the preparatory meeting.

2. All decisions were taken either unanimously or by sufficient consensus, where necessary.

3. An agenda for the preparatory meeting was adopted.

4. It was decided to name the forthcoming conference the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa).

5. In the course of discussing the purpose of Codesa, a list of nine items was compiled for the agenda of Codesa:

- creation of a climate for free political participation
- general constitutional principles
- constitution-making body/process
- transitional arrangements/interim government/transitional authority
- the future of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states
- role of the international community
- time frames
- implementation of decisions of Codesa
- other items to be identified by a steering committee and decided upon by Codesa.

6. It was decided that the first meeting of Codesa would take place at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport on 20 and 21 December 1991.

The SA [South African] Government agreed to facilitate the participation of potential delegates who are still in exile.

All the parties present at this meeting are to be invited as participants, together with those parties that were invited but did not attend, i.e. The AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], HNP [Herstigte Nasional Party; Reformed National Party], CP [Conservative Party], and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization].

7. The following will be invited as guests observing the proceedings:

- heads of diplomatic missions
- representatives of the following international organisations:
 - United Nations Organisation
 - Organisation for African Unity
 - the Commonwealth
 - the European Community
 - The Non-aligned Movement

8. This meeting will continue at the same venue at 9 a.m. on Saturday 30 November 1991.

Preparatory Meeting: 29 November 1991

Jan Smuts Holiday Inn

Agenda

1. Appointment of chairperson;
2. Opening remarks by chairpersons;
3. Introduction of delegates;
4. Adoption of agenda;
5. Name of the conference;
6. Purpose of the conference;
7. Date of first meeting of the conference;
8. Venue of first meeting;
9. List of invitees;
10. Size of delegations;
11. Chairpersonship of the conference;
12. Role and function of chairpersons;
13. Decision making mechanism;
14. Funding of the conference;
15. Administration of the conference;
16. Standing rules for the conference;
17. Agenda for first meeting;
18. Convenors of the conference;
19. The way forward;
20. Press and media;
21. Establishment of a steering committee and working groups;
22. Next preparatory meeting

Bophuthatswanan Official Comments

MB2911181791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1719 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Mmabatho Nov 29 SAPA—Bophuthatswana's participation in the multi party conference should not be seen as a tacit capitulation on the issue of reincorporation.

Secretary for Bophuthatswana's Foreign Affairs Department, Mr Israel Menong, said his government remained committed to the best future for its people and, depending on the future economical and political policy of South Africa, they would continue as a sovereign state or be reincorporated into South Africa by the vote of the people.

"President (Lucas) Mangope has often stated that the government will not rush blindly into an unknown dispensation, but that it needs to be satisfied that reincorporation will be to the benefit of all Bophuthatswana's citizens.

"Only when this requirement has been met will the government go to the voters to get a mandate for reincorporation," Mr Menong said.

Viljoen Says Talks 'Watershed'

MB3011140191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1324 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 30 SAPA—The leader of the government delegation at the two-day preparatory meeting in Johannesburg, Minister of Constitutional Affairs Dr Gerrit Viljoen, on Saturday afternoon described the successful conclusion of the meeting as "a watershed for the country".

Reading a statement at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport, Dr Viljoen said the meeting had come about after a long series of obstacles.

"We have now reached a phase where real talks will begin. This meeting is a watershed in our history. It augurs well for the actual implementation of the new South Africa, with equal rights for all within its confines."

Dr Viljoen said the meeting further represented a clear break with the past.

Turning to the withdrawal of the Pan Africanist Congress [PAC] from the proceedings, the minister said the PAC's move would be temporary, as he believed it would return after consulting its membership.

"As the process makes headway, there should also be a growing realisation in the rightwing that they should get involved and not be marginalised."

He said he left the meeting with a sense of gratitude and was positive about the future of the country.

"I was struck by the repeated efforts to find agreement in areas where it seemed impossible."

Guide to Participants

MB2911101291 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
28 Nov 91 p 33

[Article by political editor Shaun Johnson; guide to steering committee participants compiled by Esmare van der Merwe and Peter Fabricius: "Custodians of SA's [South Africa] Future"]

[Text] Featured below are all the organisations and some of the men—there are surprisingly few women involved—who will take off their jackets and slide into chairs around a negotiating table at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport tomorrow morning. Look at them and their organisations carefully—they are the political custodians of South Africa's future.

The steering committee meeting for multiparty talks which they are convening marks the formal point of no return in the negotiations process. The steering committee get-together is an historic stop-off point on the long road to the new South Africa. It will not in itself take any decisions on the shape of the country's future, but it will make the taking of those decisions possible for the first time. It signifies the end of "talks about talks".

The constitutional convention into which next month's multiparty talks will metamorphose cannot come about without the successful conclusion of the steering committee meeting. If it can enter the weekend in agreement, the steering committee will have achieved unprecedented political consensus.

The presence of the NP [National Party], ANC [African National Congress], IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and PAC (although there were last-minute rumblings yesterday from the PAC) is enough to ensure that the bulk of South African political opinion has converged to the point of getting down to real business.

The white Right, as represented by the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, will not attend—but the representativity of those at the table is such that elements of the right wing are likely to be drawn into the process at some stage. The same applies to the left-wing Azanian People's Organisation; the point is that the other participants are strong enough to proceed without them at this stage.

The start of round-table negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future is a watershed in the country's political history for the simple reason that never before have leaders representing such a wide spectrum of the population gathered with common purpose—and never before has the potential existed that a political system might be fashioned which enjoys the approval of the majority of South Africa's citizens, rather than just a section of them.

THE STAR today publishes a guide to the participants in the steering committee meeting. It is as accurate and up-to-date as possible, but given the fluidity and volatility of the negotiations process, some organisations may yet pull out or climb on board at the eleventh hour.

In most cases, the information given on organisations and their standpoints has been provided by the parties themselves. In some instances, however, THE STAR's political writers have had to make do with limited information available on file.

The guide also names those three-person delegations from each party that have been finalised. Some will only be known tomorrow morning. It should also be noted that delegations to the steering committee meeting will not necessarily go forward to the multiparty talks proper—more-senior individuals may be drafted in some cases.

The purpose of the guide is to provide an idea of the range of organisations involved, historical outlines of each group, the personalities likely to play key roles, and the broad political leanings of each. It is intended to be a reference point for South Africans who will, in the new year, find themselves trying to keep up with a complicated, confusing and fast-accelerating process heading towards full democracy in this country.

A. PAN-AFRICANIST CONGRESS

Leader: Clarence Makwetu.
Formed: 1959 (breakaway from ANC).
Membership: not given
Philosophy: African socialism but opposed to totalitarianism. Multiparty democracy, independent judiciary, bill of rights.

Possible allegiance: part of Patriotic Front with ANC and others, but closer ideologically to Azapo and black consciousness movement.

Chief Negotiator: Barney Desai is present convener of negotiating team.

Position in party: publicity secretary.

Career: 27 years in exile, London barrister.

Delegation: Mr Desai, William Sereti, Mlubi Mbandaza.

B. GOVERNMENT

Ruling party: National Party.

Leader: President de Klerk.

Came to power: 1948.

Basic philosophy: Same as NP.

Chief Negotiator: Not clear, but Mr de Klerk will have ultimate say.

Career: Lawyer, politician.

Delegation: Provisionally Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Kobie Coetsee, Fanie van der Merwe.

C. AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Leader: Nelson Mandela.

Formed: 1912.

Membership: Paid up 600,000.

Philosophy: Nonracialism, a democratic SA with universal franchise, mixed economy and a socio-economic policy to address inequalities, independent judiciary with bill of rights.

Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party]/COSATU alliance.

Chief negotiator: Likely to be Cyril Ramaphosa.

Position in party: General-secretary.

Career: Lawyer, trade unionist.

Delegation: Likely to be Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma (with Mohammed Valli Moosa having an outside chance).

D. INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY

Leader: Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Formed: 1990 (formerly Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe [national freedom], formed 1975).

Membership: Not given

Philosophy: Race-free multiparty democracy, rule of law, independent judiciary with executive of government subject to Supreme Court. Maximum devolution of power, bill of rights. Free enterprise economy.

Possible allegiance: Independent. Bilateral talks with all groups.

Chief negotiator: Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Position in party: National chairman.

Career: Medical doctor, politician.

Delegation: Dr Mdlalose, Walter Felgate, Inkosi [chief] S H Gumede.

E. NATIONAL PARTY

Membership: not given (1,036,499 votes polled in last general election).

Philosophy: Participatory democracy with justice for all, private-enterprise market economy with a social conscience.

Possible allegiance: A disposition to form alliances with "moderate" parties.

Chief Negotiator: Likely to be Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

Position in party: Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning.

Career: Academic Politician.

Delegation: Provisionally Dawie de Villiers, Barend du Plessis and Roelf Meyer.

F. LABOUR PARTY

Leader: Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Formed: 1965.

Membership: Not given (171,930 votes polled in last general election).

Philosophy: Nonracial democracy, geographic federation of economically viable states, mixed economy, affirmative action, bill of rights.

Possible allegiance: Too early to determine. Talking to all organisations.

Chief Negotiator: Rev Allan Hendrickse.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Cleric, politician.

Delegation: Miley Richards, Chris April, Peter Hendrickse.

G. INYANDZA [bundle] NATIONAL MOVEMENT (KANGWANE)

Leader: Chief Minister Mangisi Cephas Zitha.

Formed: 1977.

Membership: Claimed 350,000.

Basic philosophy: Mixed economy, multiparty democracy.

Possible allegiance: ANC.

Chief Negotiator: Mr Zitha.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Government official and Minister.

Delegation: Elias Ginindza, Dr Patrick Maduna, Professor Selby Ripinga.

H. TRANSVAAL AND NATAL INDIAN CONGRESSES (JOINT DELEGATION)

Leaders: Cassim Saloojee (TIC) [Transvaal Indian Congress], George Sewpersad (NIC) [Natal Indian Congress].

Formed: TIC late 1800s; revived 1982. NIC 1894; revived 1972.

Membership: No system of paid-up membership. Overlaps with ANC-SACP.

Philosophy: Nonracial, non-sexist united SA, universal franchise, mixed economy, bill of rights.

Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance.

Chief negotiator: Possibly Mr Saloojee.

Position in party: TIC president.

Career: Welfare administrator.

Delegation: Mr Saloojee; two NIC members not yet announced.

I. VENDA GOVERNMENT

Ruling party: Military council.

Leader: Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana.

Came to power: 1990.

Basic philosophy: Nonracialism, full democracy, social upliftment.

Possible allegiance: Uncertain, but some links with ANC.

Chief negotiator: Brigadier Ramushwana.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Policeman, politician.

Delegation: Not yet announced.

J. BOPHUTHATSWANA GOVERNMENT

Ruling party: BDP [Bophuthatswana Democratic Party].

Leader: Chief Lucas Mangope.

Came to power: 1977.

Philosophy: Democracy, independent judiciary, free-market economy, fundamental human rights.

Possible allegiance: With all those who share these 'principles and values.'

Chief Negotiator: Chief Mangope.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Teacher, tribal chief, politician.

Delegation: Chief Mangope, Rowan Cronje, Clement Sehume.

K. UNITED PEOPLE'S FRONT (LEBOWA)

Leader: Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike.

Formed: 1991.

Membership: Not available.

Basic philosophy: Constituent assembly, protection of traditional leadership, free-market economy.

Possible allegiance: Patriotic Front.

Chief Negotiator: Mr Ramodike.

Position in party: Leader.

Career: Traffic policeman, court interpreter, politician.

Delegation: M I Moroamoche, M J [name indistinct] Ramusi.

L. SOLIDARITY

Leader: Dr J N Reddy.

Formed: 1984.

Membership: Not given (58,216 votes polled in last general election).

Philosophy: Justice and democracy, tolerance and reconciliation.

Possible allegiance: Will be determined by sharing of values and strategies.

Chief negotiator: Dr Reddy.

Position on party: Leader.

Career: Banker, politician.

Delegation: Dr Reddy, Ismail Omar, Baldeo Dookie.

M. DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Leader: Dr Zach de Beer

Formed: 1989 (merger of PFP [Progressive Federal Party], IP [Independent Party] NDM [National Democratic Movement]).

Membership: Not given (441,471 votes polled in last general election).
Philosophy: Social market economy, liberal democracy.
Possible allegiance: Independent but possible tendencies to both ANC and NP.
Chief negotiator: Probably, Colin Eglin.
Position in party: Caucus chairman.
Career: Quantity surveyor, former PFP leader.
Delegation: Dr Zach de Beer, Ken Andrew, Dave Dalling.

N. TRANSKEI GOVERNMENT

Ruling party: Military council.
Leader: Major-General Bantu Holomisa.
Came to power: 1988.
Philosophy: Multiparty democracy, mixed economy, constituent assembly.
Possible allegiance: Patriotic Front. Ties with ANC/SACP/COSATU.
Chief negotiator: A T Sigcau.
Position in party: Minister of State.
Career: Teacher, politician.
Delegation: General Holomisa, Z Titus, Pondomwemd-movu Ndamase.

O. NATIONAL PEOPLE'S PARTY

Leader: Amichand Rajbansi.
Formed: 1981.
Membership: 15,000.
Philosophy: Nonracial democracy, social rights, free-enterprise economy with rearrangement of wealth on an agreed basis.
Position allegiance: Highest priority is unified front of all forces; government of national unity including right wing and IFP.
Chief negotiator: Mr Rajbansi.
Possible in party: Leader.
Career: Teacher, public relations officer, politician.
Delegation: Mr Rajbansi, Kamal [words indistinct] Naidoo.

P. Ciskei GOVERNMENT

Ruling party: Military and civil Cabinet.
Leader: Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.
Came to power: 1990.
Philosophy: Fundamental human rights, equality before law, free-market economy, Christian values and standards, wealth creation.
Possible allegiance: Independent. Bilateral talks continuing.
Chief negotiator: Brigadier Gqozo.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Military officer.
Delegation: Dr H Kayser, N Nogcantsi, M B Webb.

Q. DIKWANKWETLA [meaning unknown] PARTY (QWAQWA)

Leader: Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli.
Formed: In office since 1975.

Membership: Claimed 50,000.
Basic philosophy: Free market, anti-sanctions, multi-party democracy.
Possible allegiance: Ready to back NP, ANC or DP positions on merit.
Chief negotiator: Dr Mopeli.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Headmaster, school inspector, politician.
Delegation: Rev T H Mohapi, J S S Phatang, R P Ramasia.

R. INTANDO YESIZWE [Love of the Nation] PARTY (KWANDEBELE)

Leader: Prince James Mahlangu.
Formed: 1990.
Membership: Claimed 50,000.
Basic philosophy: free market, multiparty democracy.
Possible allegiance: ANC.
Chief negotiator: Prince James.
Position in party: Leader.
Career: Former student leader, led resistance to independence.
Delegation: N J Mahlangu, Veli Mahlangu, Mboshwa Mahlangu.

S. XIMOKO [meaning unknown] PROGRESSIVE PARTY (GAZANKULU)

Leader: Professor Hudson Ntsanwisi.
Formed: 1991 (cultural organisation formed in 1983).
Membership: 35,000.
Basic philosophy: Multiparty, non-racial federal government, free-market economy with minimum wage, bill of rights.
Possible allegiance: Alliances with parties with same ideology.
Chief negotiator: Professor Ntsanwisi.
Position in party: President.
Career: Academic.
Delegation: Professor Ntsanwisi, Chief S W D Nxumalo, E P P Mhiza.

T. SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Leader: Joe Slovo (new leader to be elected next month).
Formed: 1921.
Membership: Paid-up 23,500.
Philosophy: Socialist society to be basis of communist society in long run; multiparty system; mixed economy with emphasis on socialism.
Possible allegiance: ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.
Chief negotiator: Mr Slovo (subject to change after December).
Position in party: General-secretary (outgoing).
Career: Lawyer, politician.
Delegation: Mr Slovo, Sydney Mufamadi, Moses Mayekiso.

CP Wins Virginia By-Election by 3,166 Votes

*MB2911060991 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500
GMT 29 Nov 91*

[Text] The leader of the Conservative Party [CP], Dr. Andries Treurnicht, says the CP would probably win a general election if the CP's win in the Virginia by-election is an indication of a national trend. The CP won yesterday's by-election in the [Orange] Free State by a majority of 3,166 votes.

Dr. Treurnicht said that the victory had been in line with trends in other parts of the world. Dr. Treurnicht said that if State President F.W. de Klerk understood the principle of democracy he should know that he owes the white electorate a general election.

The leader of the National Party [NP] in the Free State, Mr. Kobie Coetsee, said that the CP win would not affect the government plans for reform.

The CP candidate, Mr. Kobus Beyers, received 7,980 votes to the 4,814 of Mr. Jack Kloppeers of the National Party. The poll percentage was 55.

In the 1989 general election the former minister of education and culture in the House of Assembly, Mr. Piet Clase, retained the seat for the National Party by a 47 vote margin.

Election Results Analyzed

*MB2911073791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2317 GMT 28 Nov 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 28 SAPA—Despite representing only a small fraction of the total population of South Africa, the rightwing Conservative Party [CP] and all the smaller white rightwing groups "have now become a real political force to be reckoned with in the creation of the new South Africa and its new constitutional dispensation".

This was according to political analyst Prof Willem Kleynhans, who was commenting on the results of Thursday's by-election in Virginia, which the CP won by more than 3000 votes.

Statistics showed a 14.57 per cent swing away from the National Party, he said.

Prof Kleynhans quoted further statistics which proved the CP was no longer confined to rural South Africa, but was now a force in urban areas.

"All the parliamentary by-elections since September 1989 (the last general election) have clearly demonstrated that the National Party did not get a definite electoral mandate from its Afrikaner supporters to dismantle all the cornerstones of traditional apartheid."

Prof Kleynhans said the NP's election manifesto and its five year plan of action in 1989 "did not specifically list

all the apartheid legislation and practices which it scrapped up to the present".

The NP only relied on a few sentences in the manifesto and action plan where a mandate was requested for the elimination of discrimination between groups or against individuals based on race, colour, sex, or religion.

Prof Kleynhans said the ruling party's followers had not read into the word "discrimination" all the measures which were subsequently taken by the government.

"I was the only political analyst in South Africa after the general election of September 1989 who publicly predicted that the CP's growth potential was unlimited and that it has not nearly reached its political ceiling."

Prof Kleynhans said that in all the white parliamentary by-elections since September 1989, the CP had increased the numbers of votes polled in comparison with those received in the general election.

Some of the more important results were:

- Umlazi in June 1990 where they gained 2,786 more votes;
- Randburg Nov 1990, 1,214;
- Maitland March 1991, 2,378;
- Ladybrand 1,000; and
- Virginia 1,116.

In a number of municipal by-elections in the same period, the CP also made gains at the expense of the NP. In Durban the rightwing party gained two seats, and in Port Elizabeth, one.

The by-elections indicated "that the CP has now reached the stage (potential) where they can win seats from the NP in the urban areas and is no longer a party confined to the rural areas," Prof Kleynhans said.

"My estimate is that if there's a general election tomorrow the CP stands to gain 15 new seats in the Transvaal, 10 in the Cape, four in the Orange Free State and two in Natal (a total gain of 31 seats)."

Prof Kleynhans concluded his comments by referring to former State President Mr P W Botha.

Mr Botha has hit the headlines recently claiming that a tape of a conversation between himself and Mr Mandela proved he (Mr Botha) had not initiated the current reformist trends of the present government.

Prof Kleynhans said that in 1981/82, when Mr Botha was state president, he forced the Conservatives out of the NP caucus and "totally underestimated the degree to which the masses of NP supporters subscribe to the philosophy and practical application of the principles of Afrikaner white supremacy".

On April 15, 1982, two months after the launch of the CP, Mr Botha "triumphantly in parliament assured parliament that he was 'going to trample upon the CP, expose them and to destroy them'."

Statistics provided by Prof Kleynhans showed that in 1989 the NP and Democratic Party together polled 7,591 votes, or 52.2 per cent of the vote.

In the general election the CP and Herstigte Nasionale Party [Reformed National Party] together received 6,952 votes or 47.81 per cent of the votes.

On Thursday, in comparison, the NP, representing the Reformist vote, dropped to 4,814, or 37.63 per cent.

The CP, representing the rightwing voter, received 7,980 or 67.37 per cent of the votes.

This meant a swing of 14.57 per cent towards the CP.

Prof Kleynhans said although the 55 percentage poll on Thursday was lower than he would have like, it was still possible to draw meaningful conclusions from result.

CP Leader Comments on Win

MB2911075891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0626 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 29 SAPA—The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, says the CP would probably win a general election if the CP's win in the Virginia by-election is an indication of a national trend, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] news reported on Friday.

The CP won Thursday's by-election in the Orange Free State by a majority of 3,166 votes. Dr Treurnicht said that the victory had been in line with trends in other parts of the world.

Dr Treurnicht said that if State President F W de Klerk understood the principle of democracy, he should know that he owes the white electorate a general election.

The leader of the National Party in the Free State, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said the CP win would not affect the government's plans for reform.

Justice Minister on NP Defeat

MB2911085891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0827 GMT 29 Nov 91

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 29 SAPA—The National Party's defeat in the Virginia by-election was "definitely not" a response to the reform moves by the government, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said in Johannesburg on Friday.

Speaking in an interview with SAPA at the Jan Smuts Holiday Inn, venue for the preparatory All-Party Conference talks, he said the by-election was not an indication of the way things would go in a general election.

He said a general election was fought on different issues and the Virginia by-election had been lost as a result of local issues.

"The people of Virginia had been badly affected by retrenchments," he concluded.

De Klerk Views By-Election Results

MB2911150191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1306 GMT 29 Nov 91

[Text] Pretoria Nov 29 SAPA—The National Party would continue unhindered to carry out its clear mandate of negotiating with a view to a new constitution, despite the Virginia by-election result, State President F.W. de Klerk said.

He said in his capacity as National Party leader that the results of these negotiations would be subjected to democratic testing.

He said he wished to associate himself with the justice minister and the NP's Free State leader, Kobie Coetsee's, statements on the by-election outcome.

Mr Coetsee said the National Party's defeat in the Virginia by-election was "definitely not" a response to the reform moves by the government.

Mr Coetsee said the by-election was not an indication of the way things would go in a general election.

He said a general election was fought on different issues and the Virginia by-election had been lost as a result of local issues. "The people of Virginia had been badly affected by retrenchments," he concluded.

Mr de Klerk said the absence at Potchefstroom—venue of the next by-election—of the unusual factors that had been present at Virginia would be a far better barometer of tendencies.

Intelligence Service Chief's Role Examined

MB2711121291 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
26 Nov 91 p 23

[Article by political correspondent Peter Fabricius: "Spymaster's Iron Mask Cracks"]

[Text] Until the publication of the transcripts of his recent conversation with former President P.W. Botha, National Intelligence Service [NIS] chief Dr Niel Barnard was regarded as a tough, steely eyed and unsmiling security agent who was scared of no one.

That view is now being reconsidered. The picture that the tapes present—of a contrite schoolboy, meekly submitting to a tirade from a tyrannical headmaster—has given South Africa cause to reassess his image.

Why did this wunderkind of the security establishment allow himself to be hectored so mercilessly by Mr Botha? Was it Mr Botha's domineering personality? Or did he have a brief from the present administration to swallow his pride and suffer the abuse to placate Mr Botha?

The precise answer will probably never be known. But, as many other powerful political figures have discovered, Mr Botha is a fearsome combatant. Additionally, Dr Barnard was probably also suffering from feelings of loyalty-induced guilt, which would have made it difficult for him to respond as he probably should have responded—by telling Mr Botha to go to hell.

For—as Mr Botha bluntly told him in their one-sided interview—he owes his extra-ordinarily powerful position in the establishment entirely to Mr Botha.

Fathoming this man, is, to some degree, guesswork. Dr Barnard is, quite intentionally, an enigmatic figure. From the time of his controversial appointment in 1979, He has never granted a press interview.

Professor Lukas Daniel Barnard, then 31-year-old enfant terrible of the University of the Orange Free State's political science faculty, caused a minor sensation when Mr Botha appointed him to the most powerful security post in SA [South Africa].

It was a controversial choice because of his youth and the fact that he was an academic who had never held any position in the public service—let alone the security establishment—and was therefore leap-frogging over the heads of a host of better-qualified security officers.

But if Dr Barnard deliberately remained secretive in his public utterances, he was unusually revealing in his academic writings. They help to explain why Mr Botha chose him above all others to be SA's spymaster.

In large part Dr Barnard's philosophy dovetailed as an academic justification for Mr Botha's often ad hoc and instinctive choice of policy.

In Dr Barnard, Mr Botha clearly believed he had found someone naturally in harmony with his own notions of a total strategy.

In fact Dr Barnard had written specifically on this theme in a paper entitled "The Total Onslaught against South Africa". And Mr Botha was looking for a kindred spirit to purge the NIS—and the security establishment—of the pervasive influence of John Vorster's securocrats.

For someone so secretive in public, Dr Barnard was almost luridly eloquent in the privacy of his study, revealing himself as an unabashed advocate of force used in the pursuit of "Christian righteousness". His writings are liberally scattered with allusions to "the sword of God" and he unashamedly favours what he calls the *swaardmagsanksie*—the "swordpower sanctions". This emerges most clearly in one essay in which he argues that

"in world politics fragmented by sin, the sword must always be applied justifiably for the punishment of evil. "The attitude that the Christian State may never take up the sword and must suffer for justice is dangerous cowardice....

"The government receives the sword from the hand of God to guarantee inter-state stability and provide justice in a crooked and twisted generation."

Like Mr Botha, he was ardently anti-communist—and like him, too, was convinced that the West had lost its will to defeat communism.

Like Mr Botha, he expressed the greatest contempt for any appeasement of international opinion.

In his paper "International Terror and Urban Terrorism" he said: "To always set one's sails to the wind of ridiculous world opinion with its pathetic double ethical pretensions is to pawn constitutional sovereignty to the terrorists."

In the public record there is a large gap between the time he wrote these thoughts, in the 1970s, and the present.

There are a few sketchy speculations about his relative position in the hierarchy of influence in the security establishment. The suggestion is that he was tipped to succeed then Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis, but little more.

And yet, in the space of those years, like other securocrats previously wedded to the idea of the total onslaught, he has apparently traversed a wide terrain to the diametrically opposed strategy of today.

In the protracted negotiations which led to the Government accepting independence for Namibia, Dr Barnard played a prominent role. In fact the NIS is now regarded in some Government quarters as a co-author of the new approach—and there is widespread speculation that it made some of the first tentative contacts with the ANC.

The explanation for these apparent contradictions will probably remain for the moment as mysterious as President de Klerk's own conversion.

But perhaps Mr de Klerk knew the answer to the riddle when he addressed the NIS on its 21st birthday and praised it as the one security agency which provided objective security information that was not biased in any policy direction.

For all his early obsession with total onslaught theory, the mysterious Dr Barnard seems to have taken a hard look at the realities of South African politics and realised there was no other way than reconciliation.

Benin

French Troops Head for Togo; Government Statement

*AB2911211091 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-
Television du Benin Radio Network in French
1930 GMT 29 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] French troops at the doorstep of Lome: France today sent 300 soldiers to our country. The latter are on their way to the Hilla Kondji, at the Benin-Togo border. The arrival of these soldiers drawn from two companies—one based in Bangui and the other in Ndjamena—is part of the preliminary steps being taken by France to guarantee the security of her nationals and, definitely, safeguard the democratic process in Togo. [passage omitted]

Faced with this attempt to obstruct the ongoing democratization process in the neighboring sister country that Togo is, the Government of Benin and the Beninese nation urgently appeal for calm to all the sons and daughters of Togo, conscious or unconscious actors of a tragedy that does not disclose its name. It was Francis Komarius, government spokesman, who read a statement on this affair:

[Begin Komarius recording] The Government of the Republic of Benin and the entire Beninese nation follow with keen interest, and particularly with concern, the events that the brotherly people of Togo have been experiencing for the past 72 hours. Once more, we are witnessing an attempt to frustrate the democratization process taking place in that neighboring country since the end of the sovereign national conference. The government and people of Benin are deeply distressed by the increasingly high number of deaths and urgently appeal to all the sons and daughters of Togo to return to the path of dialogue and consultation opened by the sovereign national conference. They are convinced that nothing can be settled by force and call on the key actors of the transition period to find those lasting compromises indispensable for the success of the democratic process which the brotherly people of Togo are painstakingly implementing.

The Government of Benin, for its part, is prepared to undertake with Togo's political actors—if they agree—any mission aimed at restoring dialogue, an inevitable basis of any kind of democracy. The Beninese people once more reaffirm their unwavering support for the brotherly people of Togo as well as the constant readiness of their leadership to leave no stone unturned in order that just and lasting solutions may be found to the problems that are currently hindering the consolidation of the ongoing democratic experiment in Togo.

[Issued in] Cotonou, 29 November 1991 [end recording]

Togo

Further on Situation in Lome, Military Actions

Political Parties Urge General Strike

*AB2911161591 Paris AFP in English 1512 GMT
29 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] Lome, Nov 29 (AFP)—[Passage omitted] Twelve political parties meanwhile called for an "unlimited strike" to end the coup bid, in a leaflet circulated in Lome.

Parties, most of them considered as "radical", urged the population to go on an "unlimited general strike" until troops return to their barracks.

They also said Togo's "democratic renewal and its institutions, notably the Supreme Council of the Republic, the highest transitional body, must be backed and defended". [passage omitted]

Twenty-five people were killed and about 100 wounded in clashes between supporters of Koffigoh and anti-government demonstrators Wednesday and in Thursday's coup bid, medical sources said.

Eyadema met with coup leaders early Friday, informed sources said, but nothing was immediately known of the outcome of the meeting. [passage omitted] Rebels—up to 300, according to informed sources—demand that Eyadema name a new government. [passage omitted]

French 'Intervention' Said Unjustified

*AB2911170591 Paris AFP in French 1645 GMT
29 Nov 91*

[Text] Lome, 29 Nov (AFP)—"At this present time, nothing justifies" a French military intervention in Togo, a source close to President Eyadema stated this afternoon in Lome.

Interviewed after the announcement of the dispatch of 300 French soldiers to Cotonou, the Beninese capital, which is situated just some 150 km from Lome, this source insisted on the fact that "Togo is a sovereign state."

Rebel Soldiers Isolate Koffigoh, Aides

*AB2911172091 Paris AFP in French 1650 GMT
29 Nov 91*

[Text] Lome, 29 Nov (AFP)—The soldiers who have surrounded the seat of government in Lome where transitional Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh has been barricaded since 28 November have henceforth forbidden all access to the building. They are preventing, among other things, the entry of any provisions for Mr. Koffigoh and the two officials with him. Apart from those three men, an undetermined number of the prime minister's guard are apparently in his office.

Eyadema Opposes French Military Role*AB2911181091 Paris AFP in French 1727 GMT
29 Nov 91*

[Text] Abidjan, 29 Nov (AFP)—The Togolese head of state, General Gnassingbe Eyadema, confirmed in a statement addressed today by his press service [as received] to AFP in Abidjan, his opposition "for the time being" to a French military intervention in Togo and affirmed his determination to "give priority to a political solution." This statement constitutes Eyadema's first public declaration since the 28 November military coup attempt.

After referring to "various consistent information" according to which "France has responded favorably to the request by the prime minister, Counselor Joseph Kokou Koffigoh" to send French soldiers, the head of state declared:

"I deem it essential to inform you that negotiations are presently going on with a view to finding a solution to the crisis that is shaking the country. At the current stage of the crisis, it is preferable to give priority to a political solution rather than any military initiative. Togo is and remains a sovereign state and nothing can justify, for the moment, the intervention of French troops under the terms of the defense accords between France and Togo."

President Eyadema's press attache added, for his part, that the head of state did not consider the French community in Togo to be in danger.

Koffigoh on Situation; French Troops*AB2911192591 Paris AFP in French 1821 GMT
29 Nov 91*

[Text] Kinshasa, 29 Nov (AFP)—Togolese Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, who has since yesterday morning been surrounded by soldiers at government headquarters, today declared that the crisis could be cleared up and expressed "satisfaction" about the dispatch of French troops to neighboring Benin. Contacted on the phone by a French reporter, he said, "It is not too late, the crisis could be cleared up. Yesterday, there was a deadlock, but today discussions go on under way. The problems cannot be solved by arms. Everything will be settled through democratic dialogue."

Questioned on the dispatch to Cotonou of 300 French soldiers, he simply stated: "I can only express my satisfaction." Yesterday evening he addressed a letter to President Francois Mitterand requesting French military assistance.

On his living conditions inside the Office of the Prime Minister, which has been surrounded by putschists, he said his "morale is high," even though a problem with provisions, particularly drinks, could arise "within a few days." According to a member of his entourage, about 60

people comprising the prime minister's close associates and bodyguards were still in the besieged building this evening.

Eyadema Communique Supports Koffigoh*AB2911224591 Kara Radio of the Young Revolutionary
Forces of the RPT in French 2200 GMT 29 Nov 91
(tentative)*

[Communique issued by the Office of the President in Lome on 29 November; read by Oklu Mawuenya]

[Text] Communique from the president of the Republic: The president of the Republic renews his trust in the prime minister, Lawyer Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, and invites him to start consultations with all the country's political groups with a view toward forming a transitional government of national unity.

Furthermore, the head of state reiterates his call for the soldiers occupying strategic points in the capital to return to their barracks.

Protest Demonstrations Reported*AB2911234091 Kara Radio of the Young Revolutionary
Forces of the RPT in French 2301 GMT 29 Nov 91
(tentative)*

[Text] The population of Lome and other people in the interior regions are still feeling bitterly hurt; and the cause of this is the perfidious decision of the High Council of the Republic to dissolve the Rally of the Togolese People. Today, we recorded the demonstrations by and condemnations of the militant populations of [the Prefectures of] Bassar, Dofelgou, and Keran.

Koffigoh Views Soldiers' Demands*AB3011063291 Paris AFP in English 0232 GMT
30 Nov 91*

[Excerpts] Abidjan, Nov 30 (AFP)—The Togolese crisis moved toward a solution late Friday when President Gnassingbe Eyadema, sidelined in August by a popularly backed transitional government, ordered the troops who overthrew it to return to their barracks. [passage omitted]

Negotiations between Eyadema and Koffigoh, who was holed up with about 60 supporters in his beachside offices surrounded by troops, had been going on all day, and both had spoken of reaching a political settlement.

The two spoke by telephone three times during the day. Eyadema also spent two hours with the leaders of the coup.

In a telephone interview with AFP shortly before Eyadema's statement was broadcast, Koffigoh allowed the possibility of a negotiated solution to the crisis, which started Thursday.

"The only possibility for a political realignment is if the troops are withdrawn," he said.

But he insisted that the dissolution of the parliament and the appointment of a new government by the military would be "a coup d'etat, pure and simple. I will not countenance it."

"My life is not important," he added, "no more important than those of the 20 people who have already died." [passage omitted]

Army Withdraws From Strategic Points

AB3011061691 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 0542 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Communique issued by the armed forces in Lome on 30 November—read by unidentified Army officer]

[Text] Following that earlier communique, we, the Togolese Armed Forces, want to thank the head of state warmly for granting our requests. We are only partially satisfied, however. We urge the head of state to grant all our requests. That is: first, the dissolution of the High Council of the Republic, because that is one of our most important demands. [no further points as heard]

Effective today, 30 November, and in compliance with the orders issued by the supreme commander of the Army, we have pulled out of all the strategic points of the capital except the radio station.

Forces Seek French Officials' Recall

AB3011065291 Kara Radio of the Young Revolutionary Forces of the RPT in French 0544 GMT 30 Nov 91 (tentative)

[Communique No 8 issued by the Supreme Command of the Young Revolutionary Forces of the Rally of the Togolese People on 30 November; place not given—read by Mabede Mandondu]

[Text] The Supreme Command of the Young Revolutionary Forces of the Rally of the Togolese People held a congress on 29 November at 0020 [as heard] and commended the head of state for renewing his trust in Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh. They demand the following:

1. That the Togolese Armed Forces maintain the positions that they are now occupying until a new national union government is formed;
2. That the French ambassador to Togo, Mr. Dellaye, and the French military attache, Colonel (Florimeau), be recalled immediately;
3. That France appoint new wise and impartial authorities who can help carry through the democratic process in Togo; and
4. After the deadline of 20 December [as heard], the bad Frenchmen—Dellaye and (Florimeau)—who are really

unreliable friends of Togo, will be taken unceremoniously to the closest border post.

The struggle continues.

French Soldiers on Lome Outskirts

AB3011074291 Kara Radio of the Young Revolutionary Forces of the RPT in French 0600 GMT 30 Nov 91 (tentative)

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] President Eyadema is playing the appeasement card with the putschists, who have demanded the appointment of a new prime minister. As a matter of fact, the head of state has just pledged renewed trust in Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh. That move is the first indication of appeasement in this crisis, which had begun to take a dramatic turn. President Eyadema has reiterated his trust in the prime minister and has called on the soldiers to return to the barracks.

Furthermore, General Eyadema has called on Mr. Koffigoh to form a new government that will include all political movements of the country. This implies the participation of the Rally of the Togolese People, which was dissolved on 26 November by the High Council of the Republic [HCR]. It remains to be seen whether the prime minister is willing to repudiate the HCR. That is the question. In any case, the news was received with relief at the prime minister's office.

Meanwhile, according to Beninese national radio, the troops dispatched by France to Cotonou are reportedly on their way to Togo and are said to have arrived on the outskirts of Lome.

Gunfire Breaks Out 30 Nov

AB3011081191 Paris AFP in English 0752 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Lome, Nov 30 (AFP) - Sustained automatic gunfire lasting several minutes erupted shortly before 0630 a.m. (correcting time) near the Ghanaian border in the Togolese capital.

The firing sent local inhabitants fleeing in panic but according to available information the firing was not an attack on government headquarters located several hundred meters (yards) away.

The firing broke out shortly after Togolese rebel soldiers announced over the radio that they were withdrawing from positions they had occupied since Thursday in a two-day bid to unseat the reformist transitional government of Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh.

At 0630 a.m., journalists were prevented from moving freely round the capital and were unable to give an eyewitness confirmation that soldiers were keeping their pledge to return to barracks.

However, a convoy of armoured vehicles was seen, apparently leaving the city centre and heading for the suburbs.

Since 06:00 a.m. intercity telephone links have been cut and it was not clear whether this was the result of military action or of a strike called Friday by about a dozen political parties.

Army Warns Stone Throwers

AB3011082591 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 0725 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Unnumbered communique issued by the armed forces in Lome on 30 November; read by unidentified Army officer]

[Text] 1. All of the Togolese people from the north to the south and from the east to the west should be made to understand that henceforth, the Togolese soldier will not allow anyone whomsoever to intimidate him for any reason whatsoever. He will not allow anyone to attack him in the street, in the market, or in offices. Response to any aggression will be more regrettable for the aggressor;

2. The Togolese soldiers no longer want to hear of any Ekpemog [groups of anti-Eyadema stone-throwing youths] in this country. The response to anyone throwing stones at a soldier will be gunfire at any time;

3. No member of the dissolved High Council of the Republic shall in any way be appointed to the future government that we are most persistently demanding.

Signed, the FAT [Togolese Armed Forces]

Communique Reopens Borders, Airport

AB3011092091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 0908 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Unattributed "important" communique issued in Lome on 30 November]

[Text] Fellow Togolese: At this very moment, life is returning to normal all over the national territory. Our borders with our neighbors, as well as Lome-Tokoin International Airport, have been reopened. The radio can now resume its normal programming.

Army Returns to Barracks, Koffigoh Free

AB3011095991 Paris AFP in French 0945 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Lome, 30 Nov (AFP)—All of the soldiers who had attempted to unseat the Togolese transitional government since 28 November, have returned to their barracks, and Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh is free, according to the AFP special correspondent in Lome.

French Ambassador, Koffigoh Meet

AB3011115391 Paris AFP in French 1049 GMT 30 Nov 91

[By "special correspondent" Alain Bommenel]

[Excerpts] Lome, 30 Nov (AFP)—The coup attempt which has been going on since 28 November and was initiated by the Togolese Armed Forces ended this morning at 0900 (local time and GMT). No military presence was seen in the streets of Lome where Premier Koffi Koffigoh was now free to circulate after being besieged by mutinous soldiers for 48 hours in his residence.

The soldiers were no longer visible in front of the Radio and Television station, which was also besieged by the mutinous military elements.

According to medical sources, this coup attempt killed 19 people, and several dozen were wounded, all victims of the soldiers' bullets. [passage omitted]

The French ambassador, Mr. Bruno Dellaye, immediately went to see the prime minister with whom he was still holding talks at 0900. [passage omitted]

No details were available on the heavy shooting heard just before 0630 in the Lome district on the border with Ghana.

According to witnesses, the soldiers who were abandoning their position opened fire with automatic weapons, and two people are said to have been shot.

Garrison Communique Supports FAT

AB3011125491 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 1230 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Communique issued by the (Semedja) 3d Joint Forces Regiment on 30 November; place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The (Semedja) Garrison maintains its support for the decisions made by the Togolese Armed Forces [FAT]. Any attempt to manipulate or corrupt FAT members in a bid to sow confusion within the Togolese Army in relation to the decisions announced in the various FAT communiques will be severely repressed.

Signed, the (Semedja) Garrison

Change in Curfew Hours Reported

AB3011163991 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 1600 GMT 30 Nov 91

[From the news summary program]

[Excerpts] Calm has returned to Lome after more than 48 hours of a siege against the institutions of the republic as well as the Togolese radio and television by soldiers from the Togolese Armed Forces. [passage omitted]

Also, it must be pointed out that the curfew is still in force throughout the national territory but it will now be from 1900 to 0500.

Borders Reportedly Closed Again

AB3011173091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 1707 GMT 30 Nov 91

[From the news summary program]

[Text] Land borders and air traffic with Togo's neighbors have been closed again, contrary to what was said a while ago. However, people can go about their business but they should respect the instructions of the Togolese Armed Forces.

Troops Continue To Hold 'Radio House'

LD3011214291 Paris Radio France International in French 1830 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Excerpts] In Togo the putschist soldiers relaxed their pressure this morning. [passage omitted] Sophie Malibou has the latest from the prime minister's press attache, Benjamin Agbeka:

[Begin recording] [Agbeka] The current situation in Lome is that the troops have left the strategic points, except for Radio House, which they are still occupying. I think that to leave Radio House they will have to wait for clarifications from the head of state, who says that he still has confidence in Prime Minister Koffigoh, and [words indistinct] are ready now to hold consultations at the level of political [word indistinct] of the country in order to be able to form his government.

[Malibou] How long can the army continue to occupy the premises of Togolese radio?

[Agbeka] I can not say. No one can, because the army has its own reasons. One cannot know how long it will continue to occupy the radio, when it will be satisfied, or when negotiations will come to a conclusion. When they have what they want, I think they will [words indistinct] the radio. [passage omitted] [end recording]

According to the press service of General Eyadema, the Togolese president reportedly had a telephone conversation yesterday evening with the French president. Francois Mitterrand apparently told his Togolese counterpart that no French force would intervene in Togo without the agreement of the Togolese president himself. In Paris, the Presidential Palace is refusing to confirm or deny that information for the moment. [passage omitted]

Here is a reminder of the toll: There have been at least 25 dead these last three days in Togo.

Lome 'Plunged Into Darkness'

AB3011232591 Paris AFP in French 2252 GMT 30 Nov 91

[Text] Lome, 30 Nov (AFP)—Two to three tanks and an unspecified number of troops reassumed positions at about 2130 (local and GMT time) around the the seat of the Togolese transitional government where Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh is, it was learned from sources close to the head of government. The prime minister's guards turned off the lights in the building as a security measure and this has made it very difficult to assess the military deployment, the same sources explained.

The entire city, which is usually not well lit, has been plunged into darkness. Informed sources have confirmed that the borders and the airport have been closed and that a curfew has been imposed between 2100 and 0500. These sources pointed out that it is the Armed Forces headquarters that is in charge of ensuring the implementation of the curfew.

For this reason, the sources said, soldiers have set up check points at all strategic points, at major crossroads, and on major streets within the capital. They have also set up roadblocks on highways outside the city. The seat of the government confirmed that it has not had any contact with the Armed Forces headquarters. Telephone connections are continuing to work normally.

Lome 'Calm'; Unrest in Other Areas

AB0112075091 Kara Radio of the Young Revolutionary Forces of the RPT in French 0600 GMT 1 Dec 91 (tentative)

[Text] Calm has prevailed in Lome since yesterday morning, and some shops timidly have reopened their doors. The same goes for markets on the outskirts of the capital. Only a few shops reopened their doors in the center of the city and traffic was normal. Some measures, however, were taken.

Land borders with Togo's neighboring countries were closed again, but people can go about their normal duties by respecting the directives of the Togolese Armed Forces. Furthermore, the curfew has been extended to all parts of the country from 1900 GMT to 0500 GMT. The airport is closed during the curfew hours.

It also should be noted that the siege of the prime minister's office has been lifted by the soldiers who demanded the dissolution of the High Council of the Republic [HCR] and the formation of a new government. Partially satisfied, these soldiers withdrew from the seat of government and administrative buildings with the exception of the radio.

[Kara Radio adds in the same newscast that the dissolution by the HCR of the Rally of the Togolese People [RPT] on 26 November caused upheavals in all parts of the country. The radio says the "Executive Committee and the entire people of the Kaboussara in the prefecture

of Bassar, having learned with consternation the dissolution of the RPT insisted on demonstrating. They later issued a statement condemning the irresponsible acts of the HCR and the transition government." Similar demonstrations were registered in Sanda District. The radio goes on to read the motion adopted at the end of their demonstration: The motion supports the "courageous action of the Togolese Armed Forces, whom we invite to take all the necessary measures to have peace, tranquility, and confidence among the people."]

Tanks Reposition at Government Building

LD0112090691 Paris France-Inter Radio Network in French 0800 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Calm in Togo seems to have reigned for a short period. Tanks and soldiers once again took position around the government building last night. Two days ago the rebels tried to overthrow Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh, but President Eyadema asked him to form a national union government which seemed to have satisfied them. Borders have been closed at the airport. Thirteen French soldiers have arrived in Lome. Their mission is to strengthen surveillance around the French Embassy.

Communique Denies Tanks Surround Koffigoh

AB0112103091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche Network in French 1000 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Communique issued by the Togolese Armed Forces in Lome on 1 December]

[Text] Following reports by AFP and Radio France International that Togolese Armed Forces [FAT] tanks had surrounded the building of the prime minister's office, the FAT want categorically to deny these unfounded reports.

The order given by the president of the republic the night of 29 November was implemented scrupulously. No other deployment of forces whatsoever has taken place thereafter. It should be recalled that a curfew was decreed from 1900 to 0500, and during this period patrols are carried out.

Furthermore, the FAT inform the Togolese people of the following:

1. The land and air borders are open throughout day-time. They are closed from 1800 to 0500.
2. A curfew is decreed from 2000 to 0400 [as heard].

FAT Renews Call for HCR Dissolution

AB0112120591 Paris AFP in English 1150 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Lome, Dec 1 (AFP)—A four-day-old power-struggle continued Sunday in Togo where soldiers holding the radio carried on broadcasting directives while disclaiming reports that they were still out to overthrow the reformist transitional government.

The radio put out a communique from the armed forces (FAT) at 10:00 am (1000 GMT) warning that a curfew would be reimposed Sunday night from 8:00 p.m. until 4:00 a.m. on Monday. It said Togo's borders and airports would be open during the day but would be closed from 6:00 p.m. until 5:00 a.m. on Monday.

A journalist told AFP the armed forces were still calling for the dissolution of the transitional parliament, the High Council of the Republic, a demand which Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh has rejected as "tantamount to a coup". [passage omitted]

Koffigoh, Party Leaders on Situation

LD0112153391 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Togo is between coup d'etat and normalization: The putschist troops, who had returned to barracks yesterday, stepped up their patrols last night. They have also imposed a curfew, and today are still in control of the radio. Jean-Karim Fall reports:

[Begin recording] The pressure continues, and today one could call it a velvet coup d'etat, since the Army is still master of the situation. The radio is still being occupied by some 30 soldiers with six tanks and the curfew is still in force—it is decreed from 2000 to 0400. This morning the frontiers and the airport were reopened, but will be closed again this evening from 1800. The majority of the military hierarchy is supporting the movement. Several sources say so, and anyway, it is hard to see how a handful of isolated soldiers could have dictated their law for such a long time. [passage omitted] [end recording]

The prime minister's maneuvering margin seems very much reduced. The least that can be said is that he is working under pressure from the troops. He is to draw up a new union government, with supporters of the president—at least that is what General Eyadema has asked him to do. To do so the prime minister is asking for a return to normal. That is what he said yesterday evening to Jean-Karim Fall:

[Begin recording] [Koffigoh] You must know that we cannot work under politically normal conditions if the military occupation continues in (these two) sectors of the capital, especially at the radio. This must stop first for there to be consultation.

[Fall] Consultation with everyone, including the Rally of the Togolese People [RPT]?

[Koffigoh] Yes, of course. We think that all the actors of political life in a democratic process must be consulted. The RPT activists are citizens like anyone else. [end recording]

The entry of General Eyadema's supporters into the government will be taken very badly by those who favor the transition. For example, some 30 associations have just announced the formation of a National Resistance Committee, and a member of the High Council of the

Republic [HCR], lawyer Mr. Agboyibor, thinks that nothing can be done unless the HCR is consulted.

[Begin Agboyibor recording] In our country's current situation, it would be very difficult to get this accepted. It is true that the prime minister is the one who carries out the consultations, who proposes ministers, but his proposals must be accepted by the HCR, which is after all the [words indistinct] and which embodies the country's sensibilities. You need a certain degree of tact to get the idea accepted, an idea which [words indistinct] actually a slap in the face to the Togolese people. In the framework of the powers for consultation which have been given to the prime minister by the transitional constitution, he can (?make contact) with all the parties which (?can make up the government). That goes without saying. But for the people to have the feeling that it has been imposed, that would be something (?that would be like a slap in the face), as I have already said. [end recording]

Mr. Agboyibor was speaking to Monique Masse.

General Eyadema's supporters, of course, do not share Agboyibor's position at all. The general secretary of the Rally of the Togolese People said so to Sophie Malibou.

[Begin Malibou recording] Up until the current situation, they have been in difficulty. I do not think that it is absolutely essential that the prime minister should have held consultations before making up his government. I think simply that as long as the HCR stands up against the Rally of the Togolese People, as an activist of the Rally of the Togolese People I shall stand up against it, and I think the same goes for all the activists of the Rally of the Togolese People. If the HCR wants to dissolve the Rally of the Togolese People, all its activists will oppose its antidemocratic action. [end recording] [passage omitted]

RPT Communique Denounces France

AB0112181791 Kara Radio of the Young
Revolutionaries Forces of the RPT in French
1644 GMT 1 Dec 91 (tentative)

['Communique' issued by the Young Revolutionaries of the Rally of the Togolese People, RPT—read by announcer]

[Text] Militants of the RPT and those of other political parties of Togo's democratic renewal, the whole country, and in particular Lome, our capital, have just experienced five days of tension. This tension has now completely died down because the Togolese Armed Forces [FAT], which intervened as a referee in Togo's political arena, are maintaining their political pressure in order to get all the parties involved to respect the demands of all Togolese democrats. These demands include the unconditional dissolution of the (?mafia) group of Monsignor Kpodzro, pompously named the High Council of the Republic, HCR; and the establishment of a national

union government that will be open to all the parties, ensuring an equitable transition for all.

No RPT militant should lose sight of these demands and the struggle must continue until the demands of the Togolese people are completely satisfied. No more room for diversions or judicial lies. Events of recent days have even demonstrated the real strength of each party on the field. The RPT militants, from Lome to Dapaong, supported by all the other justice loving Togolese democrats, must be prepared to make their voice heard if their demands for justice and fairness are not met.

The democratic forces of the RPT must make national and international opinion understand that no foreign military force can daunt our determination to exist as a party and to work with the other parties in order to build democracy in Togo. It is shameful and unacceptable that France should mobilize its army to support fascists who are preventing other parties from expressing themselves. One wonders if in France a political party can arrogate unto itself the right of dissolving another political party. If France wants to suppress the democratic pluralism in Togo by giving a helpful hand to the assassins of the RPT, it would have to foresee in our country a longer and more murderous war than that in Algeria. This must be so because the RPT is not only an acronym, but involves hundreds of thousands of militants who are determined to defend their rights at all cost.

This warning also holds for some Togolese nationals who have not yet understood that the kind of democracy being practiced by Kpodzro is over. That kind of democracy practiced by people Kpodzro, Foly [HCR member], Ameganvi [HCR member], and Amourin [HCR member], which allows some people to steal, kill, and intimidate others, is definitely over. Amourin, Foly, and Ameganvi are on the run; they who said they were prepared to die for their monthly pay of 300,000 CFA francs [as heard].

Order has returned. Gone is the time when, for tribal or partisan reasons, people appropriated the farms, cattle, and other goods of other Togolese with impunity. All Togolese must feel at home everywhere in Togo. That is why we are asking the FAT to intervene every time a Togolese is subject to the smallest act of discrimination or injustice. Everyone must be able to practice his religion, speak his language, and be an activist in the political party of his choice without fear or constraint.

If the FAT succeeds in helping the people reach this decree of tolerance and democracy, all Togolese would be forever grateful to them. Democracy is a necessity because it is the best form of government that a country can have. That is why all the true democrats must be supported and encouraged. That is also why all the Togolese democrats support President Gnassingbe Eyadema who has just renewed his trust in Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh.

The Togolese prime minister is a true democrat. He has always recognized and defended this position from the

beginning. The RPT has the right to exist and express itself as a political party. If the 79 thieves of the HCR had listened to him, our democracy would not be in this condition. By getting rid of the HCR, the Togolese people and the FAT have just rendered a great service to the Togolese democracy and [words indistinct] because we know the systematic plunder of funds undertaken by Monsignor Kpodzro and his gang.

Kpodzro has plundered Togo's funds. He encouraged extremists instead of urging them to practice moderation, tolerance, and love, which are the best working tools of every worshipper. For this reason, Kpodzro, who does not even deserve the title of Monsignor anymore, has cast doubt in the souls of every Togolese worshiper. Thank God, all this has now ended. The monster has been destroyed. But, in order for it not to rear its head anymore, we say vigilance, vigilance, and vigilance. The victory is not yet complete. We have to complete it by being permanently mobilized [sentence as heard].

Signed: The Young Revolutionary Forces of the Whole of Togo.

Koffigoh Meets Parties' Leaders

AB0112192791 Paris AFP in English 1801 GMT
1 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Lome, Dec 1 (AFP)—A meeting of the leaders of Togo's main parties with Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh on Sunday failed to defuse the West African country's political crisis as troops holding the radio station here issued a communique warning that a curfew would be reimposed overnight.

Koffigoh's meeting in the morning with five party leaders—including Edem Kodjo of the Togolese Union for Democracy and Yao Agboyibo of the Action Committee for Renewal—was called "to seek a political solution" to the crisis that has gripped the country for the past four days. On Saturday [30 November] Koffigoh said he planned to hold "consultations" that, observers believed, would lead to the formation of a government of national union. [passage omitted]

The five parties represented at the meeting with Koffigoh, together with 15 other parties, issued a statement declaring that the HCR "cannot be dissolved by anyone and remains the fundamental organ of transition". [passage omitted]

Several of Togo's political leaders have gone underground or fled abroad since the seizure of the radio station and of much of the Togolese capital by troops claiming loyalty to President Eyadema. [passage omitted]

Koffigoh Meets Army Delegation

LD0112191191 Paris Radio France International
in French 1830 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Excerpts] A false departure: The Togolese troops who had returned to barracks yesterday evening, returned to

the scene quickly and are continuing to occupy the radio house. They still have one demand: the removal of the provisional parliament, the High Council of the Republic [HCR], but there is something new. Jean-Karim Fall: For the first time since the beginning of this crisis the prime minister has met a delegation of the military:

[Begin Fall recording] Eleven officers of all the corps and garrisons of the Togolese Army held talks for three and a half hours with Joseph Kokou Koffigoh. If one is to believe the communique published by the government office, the military delegation told the prime minister of their concern at the turn that events are taking, and asked him to find an internal political solution to the crisis. An internal solution: So the soldiers are categorically rejecting the possibility of foreign intervention. The communique does not mention it, but the soldiers are still demanding the dissolution of the HCR, or at the very least, that it should be sidelined. [passage omitted] [end recording]

A member of the Koffigoh government, the minister of youth, labor and sport, told our colleagues from AP that he hoped for French intervention to prevent the military from succeeding in their coup d'etat.

It has been confirmed in Paris that the sole mission of the 30 French soldiers who arrived in Lome from Benin yesterday is to protect the premises of the French Embassy in Togo.

Koffigoh Appeals for International Aid

LD0112225491 Paris France-Inter Radio Network
in French 2200 GMT 1 Dec 91

[Text] Nothing is settled in Togo: Prime Minister Joseph Koffigoh has issued an appeal for international aid to prevent the perpetrators of the strongarm action from achieving their aims. According to him, not all the military men have yet returned to barracks: Troops are reportedly trying to surround his palace.

Troops Resurround Koffigoh Office 2 Dec

AB0212070491 Paris AFP in French 0637 GMT
2 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Lome, 2 Dec (AFP)—Togolese soldiers began surrounding the seat of government in Lome this morning, members of Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh's entourage reported at 0610. "We have been surrounded; we have been taken hostage again," they said. A few minutes earlier the radio, which soldiers have occupied since Thursday, 28 November, broadcast a communique issued by the "Togolese Armed Forces," announcing that all "strategic points" in the capital had been "reoccupied." [passage omitted]

Communique on Reoccupation of Positions

AB0212063091 Lome Voix de la Nouvelle Marche
Network in French 0547 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Communique from the Togolese Armed Forces; date not given]

[Text] 1. All strategic positions in the capital have been occupied afresh as of today for the following reasons: None of our demands have been satisfied up to today.

2. We are asking the president of the republic to appoint the prime minister by presidential decree.

3. Our demands are clear and precise. They should not in any way be the object of any negotiation whatsoever.

4. The dissolution of the High Council of the Republic is imperative.

5. No movement of traffic is allowed within a radius of 500 meters in the following areas: The VIP Hotel, the National Unity Hall, all military (?premises), and the wharf.

The Togolese Armed Forces asks the population to go about its normal duties.

Koffigoh Renews Appeal to France

AB0212111591 Paris AFP in French 1039 GMT
2 Dec 91

[Text] Lome, 2 Dec (AFP)—Togolese Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, whose seat of government in Lome was again surrounded by the Army this morning, has renewed his "appeal to France for military aid," in a statement made by telephone to AFP shortly before 1000. He had made an initial appeal on the issue to President Francois Mitterrand on Thursday, 28 November.

"I have informed the U.S. and French Embassies as well as President Gnassingbe Eyadema about the serious threat that the current situation is likely to create for the country," he added. "The ball is in the court of the president of the Republic and the Army," he stressed.

Eyadema Communique on Crisis Solution

AB0212131991 Paris AFP in French 1231 GMT
2 Dec 91

[Text] Lome, 2 Dec (AFP)—General Gnassingbe Eyadema, Togolese head of state, has said it is up to Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh, who has again been besieged by the Armed Forces, to make a decision. The head of state believes dissolution of the provisional legislative assembly, one of the demands by the mutinous soldiers, could "facilitate the process of finding a peaceful and rapid solution to the crisis," according to a communique released to AFP by his press secretariat.

He also reiterated his demand that Mr. Koffigoh form a national union government. Dismissing the prime minister's statement to the effect that "the ball is in Gen. Eyadema's court," the communique stated that "President Eyadema believes the ball is rather in Premier Koffigoh's court."

"It is obvious the statements made by some political leaders, notably, the refusal to dissolve the High Council of the Republic [HCR, the provisional legislative assembly], one of the main demands by the Togolese Armed Forces, are not conducive to a rapid and peaceful solution to the crisis," the communique added.

The press release recalled "the laudable efforts" made by the head of state since the beginning of the crisis: his call for the formation of a national union government by Mr. Koffigoh; his call on the Togolese Armed Forces on Friday, 29 November to return to barracks; his choice of a political rather than a military solution.

"It would, therefore, be a show of bad faith to doubt the goodwill and readiness of President Eyadema who is waiting, along with all Togolese, for the formation of a national union government by the prime minister," the communique stated.

Koffigoh Unveils 10-Point 'Peace Plan'

AB0212165991 Paris AFP in English 1636 GMT
2 Dec 91

[Text] Lome, Dec 2 (AFP)—Togo's Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh on Monday unveiled a 10-point peace plan to "save the country from civil war" as rebel soldiers once again threatened to topple his transitional government after surrounding his official residence.

The plan, a copy of which was sent to AFP, calls for a cabinet reshuffle to include "all political sides", but does not take account of the rebels' main demand, the dissolution of the transitional legislature, the High Council of the Republic (HCR).

Rebel troops took over Lome last week to demand the dissolution of the interim parliament, but agreed to return to barracks over the weekend. They intervened again Monday morning, citing lack of progress on their demands. The troops have surrounded the prime minister's beachfront residence and have taken control of the radio station.

Koffigoh, who has sent his proposals to President Gnassingbe Eyadema, also called for an end to "the military occupation" of the capital and a solemn undertaking by the Army High Command to respect the democratic process and remain neutral in politics.

The rebels, who are loyal to the president, revolted after the HCR last week banned the president's Togolese People's Party—for more than two decades the sole legal political organisation.

Koffigoh also said that all property belonging to the People's Party would be assigned to the Treasury. All members of the transitional legislature would be asked to "reexamine" the amount they are paid.

Meanwhile, the French Defence Ministry announced that Defence Minister Pierre Joxe had arrived for an official visit to Benin, a state neighbouring Togo, on Monday. France, on Friday, sent 300 French troops to Benin as a first step towards possible intervention in Togo, a move requested by Koffigoh. The ministry said Joxe's visit had been planned some time ago and that he would also go on to Gabon and Chad, where French forces are also deployed.

Opposition Groups Organize Resistance Committees

Thirteen Groups Issue Communiqué

LD0212144991 Paris Radio France International
in French 1230 GMT 2 Dec 91

[Excerpt] Thirteen opposition associations have formed a national resistance committee in Togo. According to the terms of their communiqué, they want to oppose the return of dictatorship represented by the head of state. The text asks the loyal soldiers of the Togolese Armed Forces to defend the endangered democracy by any means. [passage omitted]

Thirty Groups Organize To Oppose Eyadema

AB0112121591 Paris AFP in French 1143 GMT
1 Dec 91

[Text] Lome, 1 Dec (AFP)—"Some 30 opposition democratic associations" today claimed to have decided to form a National Resistance Committee (CNR) to "oppose the return of dictatorship personified by (head of state, General Gnassingbe) Eyadema."

This organization, in a communiqué handed over to journalists, calls on Togolese abroad "to immediately join the branches of the resistance established in neighboring countries." The text of the this "Communiqué No. 1" calls on the "loyal" soldiers of the Togolese Armed Forces (FAT) to "defend by every means the endangered democracy."

"The Togolese people refuse to be hostages of one man and his confederates," concludes the communiqué.

On Friday, [29 November], 12 political parties called in leaflets for an unlimited general strike to oppose the attempt to overthrow the institutions of the transition.

Oppositionist Olympio Views Events

AB2911173091 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 29 Nov 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Most Togolese groups outside the country have roundly denounced the soldiers' takeover in Lome. Gilchrist Olympio, son of a former Togolese president and longtime opponent of President Eyadema, came into the studio today and Josephine Hazely asked him what he made of the events in Lome.

[Begin recording] [Olympio] Well, I was not very surprised. I was in Togo about 10 days ago. As a matter of fact, I had discussions with the prime minister on the eve of his departure to Paris for the Francophone countries' meeting. And I brought very clearly to his attention that the transitional government could get into very deep and troubled waters unless solutions were found, and very quickly, to the deteriorating military conditions of Togo, because as you know, Eyadema's army today is about 12,500 men to which you could add another 2,000 paramilitary, the bulk of which—about 80 percent—is recruited from his village. So those people are not democrats. They are opposed to the process of democratization and represent a threat to the provisional government.

[Hazely] So what is it Mr. Koffigoh should have done that he probably didn't do?

[Olympio] Well, I think he did try; he did try to get military presence from France, from Benin, from Ghana, from Senegal, and even from the Ivory Coast. I think he did not get very positive responses from any of those countries, even though the French managed to send him a small, token military instructors into Togo to train his personal bodyguards and also anti-riot squad in the country. But the basic military problem is still undressed.

[Hazely] So do you think now France would step in to save the government of Mr. Koffigoh? After all, you remember, they did step in to save President Eyadema quite a few times in the past.

[Olympio] Well, this is the question all democrats are asking themselves. Obviously, the new government—which is very fragile—needs some foreign assistance to be able to face up to these rather boisterous, undisciplined troops which we have in the country. Everybody wishes France would do it, but as I do not have any close personal contacts with the French authorities it is very difficult to know what inputs go into their policymaking at the Elysee Palace in Paris.

[Hazely] So how do you feel? You know Mr. Koffigoh very well. He has been held up in this his office. How do you think he would be feeling at this time?

[Olympio] I think he is very remarkable man. I have a lot of respect for him, for his integrity and personal courage. He is not the sort of person, I think, you can bulldoze or ride roughshod over. And he has made his position very clear, according to the French radio, that he was not going to report to the military camp. So we are expecting a showdown, or we expect the troops to pull back once they hear there is an imminent French return to the military scene in Togo. [end recording]

Correction to Barricades Block Streets

AB0112141291

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Barricades Block Streets" published in the 27 November Sub-Saharan Africa DAILY REPORT, page 43:

Page 44, column one, first full paragraph, first sentence make read: ...quarters, commonly nicknamed Ekpemog, put up barricades....(correcting term, which is a play on the abbreviation "ECOMOG" and the Ewe word for "stone").

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

Dec. 3, 1991

